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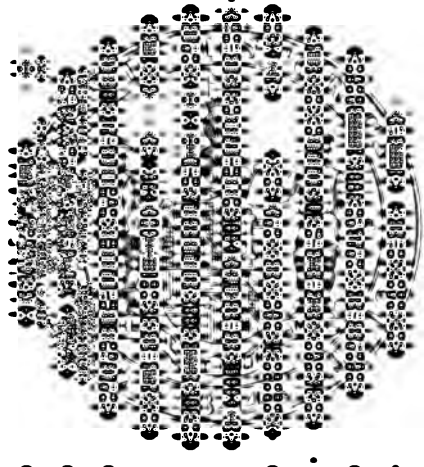

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THE NATIONAL MEDALS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

SO far as authentic history goes, the great deeds of men have been commemorated in some conspicuous form, not only as a just recompense for well accomplished duty, but as an incentive to future generations to emulate the public virtue of the hero.

As the Prince Ozias said to Judith, "He has so magnified thy name this day that thy praise shall not depart out of the mouth of men."

And beyond authentic history in that semi-twilight now being pierced by the keen eye of science, Egyptian papyri, immemorial stones carved with Assyrian and Persian cuneiform, with Scandinavian and Teutonic Runes, or with Aztec hieroglyphs, all give us in picture or in prose the story of the public triumph.

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But the natural fitness of things requires that public reward for public services should be expressed not only in a conspicuous, but also in an enduring form, and so all the resources of art and labor and treasure have in each succeeding age been utilized and exhausted, to produce gorgeous edifices, temples and monuments to signalize the victories of the great captains and the reigns of the great kings and princes of the earth.

Many of these great monuments of the past do survive, such as the Pyramids, and the later edifices of Greece and Rome, and to an extent we know their meaning and the name of the person in whose honor they were built. But who shall tell us of the number that have fallen into ruin and disappeared, as the men whose names they were built to perpetuate have disappeared and been forgotten.

And of those that exist which one tells us that which any coin dug from the old soil of the Troad will tell us; the name, the date, the very features of the man in whose honor it was struck.

The two largest and most imposing monuments on the Appian way, near Rome, are circular edifices, one of which is so large that there is a house and farm buildings and an olive grove upon its summit, and no man knows in whose honor it was built. The other, which is somewhat smaller, tradition calls the tomb of Cecilia Metella, but tradi-

tion cannot tell us who was Cecilia, nor why this sumptuous pile was erected to her memory and the tomb itself is silent.

But medals, as memorials, are not silent. In a year, or a hundred years, or a thousand years, or ten thousand years, after the man has played his part, this little metal disk is a witness who shall tell him who reads, the name of the man and the deed he did, and the time and the country, and show his very features "in his habit as he lived."

Much as we are indebted to ancient coins for exact and concise historical information, it would appear that what we call a medal was practically unknown to antiquity, which only struck pieces destined for circulation and exchange as money. The ancient engravers in the types of current money infinitely varied, endeavored to multiply and disseminate religious and historical ideas, but these were technically coins not medals.

The exact definition of a medal according to the science of numismatics is, "A piece of metal in the form of a coin not issued or circulated as money, but stamped with a figure or device to preserve the portrait of some eminent person or the memory of some illustrious action or event."

It may be fairly said that we owe the medal, according to this definition, to that period to which all arts are so much indebted. I mean the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century, which broke

the old mould that imprisoned art in conventional forms and brought her back to her mother nature.

Vittorio Pisano or Pisanello was indeed the creator of the medal proper. He was a portrait painter of Verona, and the first technical medal was designed by him in honor of John Paleologos, next to the last Greek emperor of Constantinople. This potentate, who wears in the medal a very remarkable headdress copied from life, was at the time, 1439, attending the great Oecumenical Council held at Ferrara and Florence, consulting about the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and had this medal struck in honor of his visit.

So accomplished an artist was Pisano, that a very late work on numismatics says that, "He marked the limits of the art to which he gave birth, and his successors have made variations on his style but not improvements."

From his time onward Italy has been distinguished in this beautiful art—the long list of its masters, either as designers, engravers or both, including such great names as Raffaele and Benevenuto Cellini.

France followed quickly in the footsteps of Italy, and a very beautiful medal was struck in 1451 to commemorate the taking of Bordeaux and the final expulsion of the English from France. Other nations followed in the wake and adopted the idea, so that every civilized country soon had issued

national medals of more or less importance and artistic merit.

"When in the course of human events it became necessary for this people to assume among the powers of the world the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled them," the Continental Congress was met at the outset with the question as to how the new republic should honor its heroes. It could not give them titles and peerages, but it could give them, as General Scott once expressed it, "the highest reward a free man can receive—*the recorded approbation of his country.*" Nay, even before the tremendous declaration of the 4th July, 1776, the Congress had decided the point, for on the 26th March, 1776, it was

"Resolved, that the thanks of this Congress in their own name and in the name of the thirteen united colonies whom they represent be presented to His Excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to His Excellency, and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks and a proper device for the medal."

Messrs. Jno. Adams, Jno. Jay and Hopkins, were the committee so appointed, and here over three months before the Declaration of Independence begins the story of

The letter of John Hancock, President of Congress to General Washington, informing him of this resolution, may well be taken as the best expression of the meaning and extent of the honor conferred on an American citizen by an act of Congress presenting him with a medal.

"PHILADELPHIA, 2*d April*, 1776.

"*To General Washington.*

"*Sir:* It gives me the most sensible pleasure to convey to you by order of Congress the only tribute which a free people will ever consent to pay—the tribute of thanks and gratitude to their friends and benefactors. The disinterested and patriotic principles which led you to the field have also led you to glory; and it affords no little consolation to your countrymen to reflect that as a peculiar greatness of mind induced you to decline any compensation for serving them except the pleasure of promoting their happiness, they may without your permission bestow upon you the largest share of their affection and esteem.

"Those pages in the annals of America will record your title to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame, which shall inform posterity that under your direction an undisciplined band of husbandmen, in the course of a few months became soldiers; and that the desolation meditated against the country by a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced generals, but employed by bad men in the worst of causes, was, by the fortitude of your troops and the address of their officers next to the kind interposition of Providence, con-

fined for near a year within such narrow limits as scarcely to admit more room than was necessary for the encampments and fortifications they lately abandoned. *Accept*, therefore, Sir, the thanks of the United colonies unanimously declared by their delegates to be due to you and the brave officers and troops under your command, and be pleased to communicate to them this distinguished mark of the approbation of their country. The Congress have ordered a golden medal adapted to the occasion to be struck and when finished to be presented to you.

"I have the honor to be with every sentiment of esteem, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN HANCOCK,
"*President.*"

No country in the world has been as chary of granting this sort of public recognition to its citizens as the United States. From the beginning of our national history to this, the 112th year of the republic, only eighty-three medals have been granted by Congress, so that of all governmental honors known to the world to-day, it is the rarest.

It is interesting to recall the various opinions and suggestions made by the great men of that time in treating of this subject.

The United States Mint was not established until 1792, and previous to that time the revolutionary medals were struck in France generally under the direction of the American minister near that court. And it happened that there was in Paris at that time a brilliant group of engravers

who have given us in all of these medals noble specimens of their beautiful art.

It appears that the first medal actually struck was that of Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury, which was executed under the direction of Dr. Franklin about 1780.

The doctor shows his practical mind in a suggestion which he makes in a letter to Mr. Jay, the then Secretary of State, he says:

"The man who is honored only by a single medal is obliged to show it to enjoy the honor which can be done only to a few and often awkwardly. I, therefore, wish the medals of Congress were ordered to be money, and so continued as to be convenient money by being in value aliquot parts of a dollar."

Our government has never quite adopted that idea (which was exactly the practice of the coiners of antiquity), but it has come tolerably near it by placing upon every revenue and postage stamp and bank note the portrait of some of our public men.

In 1792 the Senate passed a bill for coining money with the head of the *President* upon it, but General Washington himself opposed it, and the House of Representatives amended the bill by substituting the head of *Liberty*, the mother or perhaps grandmother of the classic female who now figures on that coin which is by law worth 100 cents, and of which we all try to be collectors.

Colonel Humphreys, who was entrusted by Mr.

Morris with the commission of procuring the other medals which had been voted, immediately upon his arrival in Paris addressed himself to the French Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, asking them to aid him "in having these medals executed in a manner grateful to the illustrious personages for whom they are designed, worthy the dignity of the sovereign power by whom they are presented, and calculated to perpetuate the remembrance of those great events which they are intended to consecrate to immortality."

The Academy took a most active interest in the work and immediately appointed a committee of four of its members to suggest the designs.

Colonel Humphreys returned to America, leaving the superintendence of the medals to Mr. Jefferson, who in writing about them to Mr. John Jay, the then Secretary of State, made some suggestions which are thus commented on by Mr. Jay in his report to Congress, dated 11th July, 1787. After reciting Mr. Jefferson's suggestions, he says:

"In the judgment of your Secretary it would be proper to instruct Mr. Jefferson to present in the name of the United States one silver medal of each denomination to every monarch (except the King of England for that would not be delicate); and to every sovereign and independent State without exception in Europe, and also to the Emperor of Morocco. That he also be instructed to send fifteen silver medals of each

set to Congress to be by them presented to the thirteen United States respectively, and also to the Emperor of China with an explanation and a letter, and one to General Washington. That he also be instructed to present a copper medal of each denomination to each of the most distinguished Universities (except the British) in Europe, and also to Cte de Rochambeau, Cte d'Estaing and Cte de Grasse, and lastly that he be instructed to send to Congress two hundred copper ones of each set together with the dies.

"Your Secretary thinks that of these it would be proper to present one to each of the American colleges, one to the Marquis de la Fayette, and one to each of the other Major-Generals who served in the late American army, and that the residue with the dies be deposited in the Secretary's office of the United States subject to such future order as Congress may think proper to make respecting them.

"It might be more magnificent to give gold medals to sovereigns, silver ones to distinguished persons and copper ones to the colleges, but in his opinion the nature of the American government as well as the state of their finance will apologize for their declining this expense. All of which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

"JNO. JAY."

Congress does not seem to have adopted Mr. Jay's report, at any rate the proposed action has never been taken. But it would appear that Mr. Jefferson fully expected that his suggestion would be carried out, as we find him under date of 23rd February, 1789, writing to Mr. Dupré, the engraver, asking him for a copy of Dr. Franklin's

medal, as he is going to have a description of all the medals printed in order to send them with copies of the medals to the sovereigns of Europe.

It is no doubt owing to the fact that the proposed copies of the medals were never struck, that the Bibliography of American National Medals did not begin with Mr. Jefferson's description of those given for the Revolutionary battles.

The first work on this especial subject known to the writer of this paper was published in 1848, by Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, and is called "Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores and other Commanders who were presented with medals by Congress, by Thomas Wyatt.

The writer's attention was called to this work by Mr. W. Elliot Woodward of Roxbury, Mass., a name well known to all American numismatists. The only accessible copy was found in the Boston public library, and up to its date it is a complete work giving an engraving of the medals issued up to that time with a memoir of each of the recipients.

Mr. Wyatt seems to have been the first person to collect a full set of our medals, and in a letter from him to Mr. Woodward in 1861, he speaks of the great difficulties he had in searching out and borrowing every medal of the series. For the medals of Major Lee and Major Stewart he was

obliged to go to France. He had a number of sets struck off for sale at the request, and partly at the expense, of Jared Sparks, Abbott Lawrence, Daniel Webster and other gentlemen interested in the project, and he says that the Legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania ordered each a set for the public libraries, with a vote of thanks for his perseverance.

In 1861 Mr. James Ross Snowden, Director of the Mint, published a volume called the "Medallic Memorials of Washington." Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. — an interesting and valuable work.

In 1878 Mr. J. F. Loubat, of New York, published his "Medallic History of the United States of America." This magnificent and exhaustive work has become an absolute authority on the subject. All that learning and conscientious and intelligent research can do, has been done to make it perfect, and the writer of this paper cheerfully acknowledges his indebtedness to it for most of the facts herein given. The work being, however, only published as an "edition de luxe," in two large quarto volumes, printed on especially prepared paper and enriched with 170 etchings of the medals by M. Jules Jacquemart, it is necessarily too expensive a book for general circulation and is, therefore, perhaps not as well known as it ought to be.

Mr. Loubat gives descriptions of eighty-six medals which he classifies as national, although seven of them have not the sanction of a Congressional vote.

The first, or Revolutionary group, is composed of the following:

1. General Washington, for the occupation of Boston, by Duvivier.

2. Major-General Gates, for the surrender at Saratoga, by Gatteaux.

3. General Wayne, for Stony Point, by Gatteaux.

4. Major John Stewart, commanding the left wing storming party same action, by Gatteaux.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury, commanding the right wing storming party same action, by Duvivier.

6. Major Henry Lee, for surprise of Paulus Hook, by J. Wright.

This was the famous "Light Horse Harry"—the worthy sire of his noble son, General R. E. Lee.

7. John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart, for the capture of Major André.

This is not a medal proper, but a piece of repoussé work made by a silversmith.

8. General Morgan, for the victory of the Cowpens, by Dupré.

9. Lieutenant-Colonel William A. Washington, same action, by Duvivier.

10. Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard, same action, by Duvivier.

11. Major-General Nathaniel Greene, for victory at Eutaw Springs, by Dupré.

This completes the list of medals given to the army during the Revolution. Two of the recipients were Marylanders. The first, Major John Stewart, was a son of Stephen Stewart, a merchant of Baltimore. He commanded the left storming party at Stony Point, which, in the words of General Wayne's official report, "with unloaded muskets and strict orders not to fire, in the face of a most incessant and tremendous fire of musketry and from cannon loaded with grapeshot, forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle."

In this same report Mr. Archer is commended for gallantry, and was in consequence brevetted captain by order of Congress, which looks as though Harford County had a representative in that action.

Colonel Stewart was a first lieutenant in 1776, captain in 1777, served through the war with great distinction, and commanded a regiment in the Southern campaign. He went to South Carolina directly after the war and died there in 1783, and so was comparatively little known in Maryland outside of his own kinsmen. Of the other Marylander — Colonel John Eager Howard — nothing

need be said here; his life is a part of the history of this city and known to us all.

The Maryland bayonet was as effective under Colonel Howard in South Carolina as it had been under Colonel Stewart on the Hudson, as will appear from these words taken from General Morgan's official report of the action at the Cowpens: "Lieutenant-Colonel Howard observing this, gave orders for the line to charge bayonets, which was done with such address that they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their field pieces in our possession. We pushed our advantage so effectually that they never had an opportunity of rallying, had their intentions been ever so good."

It is a matter of history that the gallant Colonel, during the battle of the Cowpens, held in his hands at one time the swords of seven British officers who had surrendered to him.

But one medal was given during the Revolution to the young American navy—that of

12. Captain John Paul Jones for his various naval exploits, particularly the capture of the British frigate Serápis off the coast of Scotland.

This great naval commander hoisted with his own hands the first American naval flag on board the Alfred on October 10, 1776, at Chestnut Street Wharf, Philadelphia. He was the only American officer decorated by the King of France, and has the unique distinction of being the only American

citizen whose title of knight (chevalier), conveyed by the decoration, has been officially recognized by the United States Congress.

This medal is by Dupré, and, with the exception of the medal of Major Henry Lee, which is by Joseph Wright, the first draughtsman and die sinker of the United States Mint, and of the medal to the captors of Major André, all of those mentioned were executed by the great French engravers, mostly after designs and with inscriptions furnished by a committee of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in Paris.

Our forefathers evidently did not believe in protection to home art, perhaps being of the same mind as a great American general, who, in writing to the Secretary of War on this subject, said: "But I beg leave again to suggest that the honor of the country requires that medals voted by Congress should always exhibit the arts involved in their highest state of perfection *wherever* found; for letters, science and the fine arts constitute but *one republic embracing the world.*" General Washington seems to have been also imbued with that idea, for while at Valley Forge, on finding some valuable medical manuscripts—the property of a British medical officer—among some other captured property, he directed them to be returned to their owner, saying that the Americans did not war against the sciences.

There are six other well-known medals of the Revolutionary times, which are of very great historical importance, but are not national in the sense of being ordered by Congress. These are

13. The Libertas Americana, in honor of the surrender at Yorktown. This was ordered by Dr. Franklin to be executed by Dupré. It represents young America as the infant Hercules strangling two serpents.

14 and 15. Two medals to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, engraved and dedicated to him by his friend, Augustin Dupré, both of which bear Turgot's celebrated Latin verse, composed in his honor: "*Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis*" (He wrenched the thunderbolt from heaven and the sceptre from tyrants).

16 and 17. Two medals struck in Amsterdam—one called "Libera Soror" in honor of the acknowledgment of the United States by the United Netherlands, the other in honor of the celebration of the first treaty of amity and commerce between those countries.

18. The so-called Diplomatic medal. It was then the custom, and, to a great extent is now, for a sovereign to give some token of his regard to a retiring ambassador who has been a "persona grata" at his Court, and General Washington and his Secretary of State—Mr. Jefferson—evidently thought that the United States Government should

not allow itself to be outdone in generosity and splendor by any king of them all, and so ordered these medals, each with a gold chain, to cost $1,000; but only two have ever been given—one to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister of the King of France in the United States from 1779 to 1784, and the other to the Marquis de Moustiér, likewise French Minister at Washington from 1787 to 1790.

A medal called the Japanese Embassy Medal was struck at the Philadelphia Mint on May 17, 1860, by order of the State Departmant, in honor of the arrival of the first diplomatic representatives of the Empire of Japan in this country. Three gold medals were struck, one for each of the three envoys, and copies in silver or copper were given to the other members of the Embassy; but this must not be confounded with the Diplomatic medal, and, strictly speaking, is not a national medal. It was simply to commemorate the interesting fact that for the first time in history, the Empire of Japan abandoned its traditional policy of Oriental seclusion, and opened regular diplomatic communication with Western civilization. Many gentlemen here present will doubtless recall the visit of these ambassadors to Baltimore on the 8th June, 1860, where, as guests of the Government of the United States, they were formally received by the Mayor and City Council,

and their swords were stolen from the Gilmor House. A peculiar and much-criticized incident in that connection was that the police authorities advertised, offering a large reward — I believe $1,000—for the recovery of these swords, promising to the thieves immunity from all criminal prosecution on the return of the stolen property. This was done on the belief that the loss of the swords would subject the envoys to the penalty of death on their return to Japan.

19. The first medal given by Congress after the Revolution was to Captain Thomas Truxton, commander of the United States frigate Constellation, which was built at Harris Creek, Baltimore, for the capture of the French ship of war La Vengeance, near the island of Guadaloupe, on the 1st February, 1800. This was at the time of the unfortunate complication with France, which has left us, among other disagreeable reminiscences, the famous French spoliation claims.

President John Adams, in writing to Captain Truxton in regard to this medal, expressed some views about the navy which do not seem to have been in accord with the policy of our Government for the last twenty years. He says: "The counsels which Themistocles gave to Athens, Pompey to Rome, Cromwell to England, De Witt to Holland and Colbert to France, I have always given, and shall continue to give, to my countrymen—that as

the great questions of commerce and power between nations and empires must be decided by a military marine, and war and peace are decided at sea, all reasonable encouragement should be given to the navy. The trident of Neptune is the sceptre of the world."

20. The next medal was granted March 3, 1805, to Commodore Edward Preble, of the navy, for the gallant action before Tripoli in 1804. We find in the official report high commendation given to a lieutenant with the Maryland name of Trippe, who commanded one of the boats and was severely wounded in that action.

21–42. Some reference should now be made to the medals which are called by the United States Mint Presidential Medals. Of these there are twenty-two—two for General Washington and one for each of the succeeding Presidents except General William Henry Harrison, who died one month after his inauguration.

In 1786 Mr. Kean, member of Congress from South Carolina, moved that medals be struck for presentation to the Indian chiefs with whom the United States should conclude treaties.

The first medal so struck was given to Red Jacket, the great chief of the Six Nations, on his visit to Philadelphia in 1792. It bore on its face the figure of General Washington, with the legend, George Washington, President, 1792, and all sub-

sequent Indian medals have, following this precedent, borne the engraved portrait of the President who approved of the treaty, with the date of his administration, thus making a most valuable and interesting addition to our national historical medals.

More medals were granted during the war of 1812 than at any other period of our history.

The first three were voted January 29, 1813:

43. To Captain Isaac Hull, of the United States frigate Constitution, for the capture of the British frigate Guerriére.

44. To Captain Stephen Decatur, of the frigate United States, for the capture of the British frigate Macedonian, and

45. To Captain Jacob Jones, of the United States sloop of war Wasp, for the capture of the British sloop of war Frolic.

Silver medals, copies of the golden ones voted to these captains, were directed by Congress to be given to the nearest male relatives of Lieutenants Bush and Funk, killed in these actions.

The gallant Captain Decatur was born in Synepuxent, Worcester County, Maryland, and Captain Hull, in his report, highly recommends Lieutenant Contee, of the Marines, for coolness and gallantry.

Next come the medals of

46. Captain Bainbridge, for the capture of the Java, December 29, 1812.

47. Lieutenant McCall, for the capture of the Boxer, September 4, 1813, and

48. Lieutenant William Burrows, for the same action. He was in command of the United States brig of war Enterprise, was killed in the action and was succeeded in command by Lieutenant McCall. His medal was, therefore, voted by Congress to his nearest male relative.

49. The famous victory of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry on Lake Erie added two medals—one to Perry himself and the other to the second in command

50. Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott, of Maryland, who was thirty-one years old at the date of that action, but, young as he was, had already made his mark by cutting out two British ships from under Fort Erie, for which Congress had voted him a sword of honor. Commodore Perry's old battle flag, with the legend "Don't give up the ship," is still preserved at the Naval School at Annapolis.

The victory of Lake Champlain was rewarded by three medals—one to

51. Captain Thomas McDonogh, one to

52. Captain Robert Henley, and one to

53. Lieutenant Stephen Cassin.

Then followed the medals of

54. Captain Lewis Warrington, of the sloop of war Peacock, for the capture of the British brig Epervier, April 29, 1814, and of

55. Captain Johnson Blakeley, of the sloop of war Peacock, for the capture of the British sloop of war Reindeer, July 8, 1814.

56. The medals of Captain Charles Stewart, of the United States frigate Constitution, for the capture of the British frigate Cyane, and of

57. Captain James Biddle, of the United States sloop of war Hornet, for the capture of the British sloop of war Penguin, complete the list of naval medals granted during the war of 1812.

Captain Charles Stewart was the maternal grandfather of the present famous Irish patriot, Charles Stewart Parnell.

During the same war the actions of Chippewa, Niagara and Erie, in Upper Canada, were rewarded by medals to

58. Major-General Jacob Brown.

59. Major-General Peter Buel Porter.

60. Brigadier-General Eleazar Wheelock Ripley.

61. Brigadier-General James Miller.

62. Major-General Winfield Scott.

63. Major-General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, and the victory of Plattsburgh, by the medal of

64. Major-General Alexander Macomb.

In the official reports of these battles special mention is made of Captain Towson's artillery. I suppose that he is the same gallant officer whose fame has been immortalized by the naming of the capital of a neighboring county.

The next of the army medals of the war was granted for the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, to

65. Major-General Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory"—"a great democratic victory."

And Congress in 1818 voted medals to

66. Major-General William Henry Jackson, and

67. Isaac Shelby, a Governor of Kentucky, for the battle of the Thames, in Upper Canada, October 5, 1813.

General Harrison was, as has been already stated, the only President of the United States for whom no Presidential Medal was struck.

Governor Shelby was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, September 14, 1750. He distinguished himself in the Southern battles in the Revolutionary war, and was voted a sword of honor with the thanks of the Legislature of North Carolina. He was Governor of Kentucky from 1812 to 1816, and joined General Harrison at the head of 4,000 Kentucky volunteers and rendered gallant service at the battle of the Thames. He declined to be Secretary of War in 1817 and died in Kentucky, July 18, 1826.

The last medal for this war was not voted until February 13, 1835. It was to

68. Colonel George Croghan, for the defense of Fort Stephenson, August 3, 1813.

Congress does not seem to have found it neces-

sary to commemorate the battle of Bladensburgh by the granting of a medal to any of the participants in that brilliant strategic movement.

69. From the end of the war of 1812-15 to the time of the Mexican war, no medals were voted by Congress, as the war with the Florida Indians did not apparently call for any such especial honor; but during this period a medal was struck in France in honor of the treaty of commerce concluded with that country, June 24, 1822. This is in no sense an official medal, but Mr. Loubat classifies it as national by reason of its great historic interest.

70, 71, 72. During the Mexican war Major-General Zachary Taylor received no less than three medals, with the corresponding vote of thanks of the Congress—one July 16, 1846, for the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; one March 2, 1847, for Monterey; one May 9, 1848, for Buena Vista, and

73. General Scott, the hero of 1812, received his second medal for the actions of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey and Chapultepec.

All through the reports of these actions we find honorable mention of the Maryland names of Watson, Ringgold, May, Ramsey, Randolph Ridgely, and others of the gallant sons of this old State.

On the 10th December, 1846, the United States

brig Somers, one of the squadron blockading Vera Cruz under the command of Captain Raphael Semmes, was struck by a sudden squall, and sunk within ten minutes from the time the squall struck her. The British, French and Spanish men-of-war, who witnessed the disaster, immediately lowered boats manned by brave men, who, at the peril of their own lives, in a raging sea, rescued all but two officers and forty men.

74. Congress passed an act, March 3, 1847, directing that a suitable medal be struck and presented to the officers and men of these various foreign vessels, in recognition of their gallant and humane conduct.

75. The Martin Costa incident in the harbor of Smyrna, July 3, 1853, resulted in the voting of a medal to Commander Duncan N. Ingraham, of the United States ship St. Louis. This gallant officer, evidently a firm believer in "a vigorous foreign policy," was informed that Martin Costa, a citizen of the United States, had been claimed as an Austrian subject, was taken as a prisoner and confined on board the Austrian brig Hussar. After polite request for his surrender and a refusal from the Austrians, Capt. Ingraham shotted his guns, anchored within half a cable's length of the brig, which had been by this time reinforced by a ten-gun schooner and three Austrian mail steamers, and sent the following note:

"*To the Commander of the Austrian brig Hussar:*

"SIR,—I have been directed by the American chargé at Constantinople to demand the person of Martin Costa, a citizen of the United States taken by force from Turkish soil and now confined on board the brig Hussar, and if a refusal is given, to take him by force.

An answer to the demand must be returned by 4 p. m.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"D. N. INGRAHAM, *Commander.*"

Costa was then surrendered and sent on shore to the custody of the French consul.

76. A medal was voted on May 11, 1858, to Surgeon Frederick Henry Rose, of the British navy, for volunteering to act as medical officer of the United States ship Susquehanna, nearly all of whose crew were disabled and dying from yellow fever, and on July 26, 1866, a medal was voted to

77. Captains Creighton, Low and Stouffer, for saving the ship's company of the wrecked steamer San Francisco, with the Third United States Artillery on board, in December, 1853.

78. With a magnanimity and true patriotic feeling which does honor to the American character, the Congress gave no medal commemorating the battles of the great civil war except the one given to Major-General U. S. Grant by the act of December, 1863, for the victories of Fort Donelson, Vicksburg and Chattanooga.

79. On the 28th January, 1864, a medal was also voted to "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt, in recognition of his free gift to the Government of the steamer which bore his name and which was valued at $1,000,000. It was provided in the act that a copy of this medal should be placed in the Congressional Library. In his letter accepting the medal, he gives the following good advice to his descendants: "And it is my hope that those who come after me, as they read the inscription of the medal and are reminded of the event in their father's life which caused it to be struck, will inflexibly resolve that, should our Government be again imperilled, no pecuniary sacrifice is too large to make in its behalf, and no inducement sufficiently great to attempt to profit by its necessities."

80. On the 1st March, 1871, Congress voted to George Foster Robinson, late a private of Maine Volunteers, $5,000 in money and a gold medal in recognition of his heroic conduct in saving the life of Mr. Seward from the attack of Payne, the accomplice of John Wilkes Booth, on April 14, 1865; but it seems unfortunate that this gentleman could not have been suitably rewarded in some other way than by a perpetual record of an act which Americans of all political creeds can now only remember with shame and sorrow.

These three medals are the only ones in any wise connected with that unfortunate war period.

81. On March 2, 1867, Congress voted a medal to Mr. Cyrus West Field, of New York, "for his foresight, courage and determination in establishing telegraphic communication by means of the Atlantic cable traversing mid-ocean and connecting the Old World with the New."

Mr. Field founded the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company in 1854, organized the Atlantic Telegraph Company in 1856, and was the active mover in that great project until its final real success in 1867. "Peace has its victories as well as war," and this was assuredly one of the greatest.

82. On the 16th March, 1867, a medal was voted to George Peabody, "for his great and peculiar beneficence in giving a large sum of money, amounting to $2,000,000, for promotion of education in the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States."

Before a Baltimore audience it would be superfluous to make any eulogy upon the character and good deeds of that great philanthropist.

It may be of interest, however, to give an extract from his letter to Mr. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, acknowledging the receipt of the medal:

"Cherishing, as I do, the warmest affection for my country, it is not possible for me to feel more grateful than I do for this precious memorial of its regard, coming, as it does, from thirty millions of American citizens through their representa-

tives in Congress, with the full accord and coöperation of the President.

"The medal, together with the rich illuminated transcript of the Congressional resolution, I shall shortly deposit at the Peabody Institution, at the place of my birth, in apartments specially constructed for their safe keeping, along with other public testimonials with which I have been honored. There, I trust, it will remain for generations, to attest the generous munificence of the American people in recognizing the efforts, however inadequate, of one of the humblest of their fellow-countrymen to promote the enlightenment and prosperity of his native land."

This feeling acknowledgment by this great and good man of the honor conferred upon him becomes all the more striking when we recall the fact that he respectfully declined a baronetcy and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, tendered him by Queen Victoria in recognition of his munificent charity to the London poor.

83. The loss of the steamer Metis, 31st August, 1872, was commemorated by a medal granted to the crews of a lifeboat and fishing-boat, who saved the lives of thirty-two persons from the wreck.

84. John Horn, Jr., of Detroit, by vote of June 20, 1874, received a medal in recognition of his extraordinary record of having, at different times, saved the lives of more than *100 persons* from drowning.

85, 86. Congress, by the act of June 16, 1874,

authorized the striking of medals in commemoration of the Centennial celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, and two were struck at the expense of the Centennial Board of Finance for sale and distribution.

We come now to a class of medals distinctly national in their character, but so multiplied in number that it is impossible here to do more than refer to them.

87, 88. On the same day, June 20, 1874, that the medal was voted to John Horn, Jr., Congress passed the following act:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to cause to be prepared medals of honor with suitable devices, to be distinguished as life-saving medals of the first and second class, which shall be bestowed upon any persons who shall hereafter endanger their own lives in saving lives from perils of the sea, within the United States or upon any American vessels.

"*Provided*, That the medal of the first class shall be confined to cases of extreme and heroic daring, and that the medal of the second class shall be given to cases not sufficiently distinguished to deserve the medals of the first class.

"*Provided*, That no award of either medal shall be made to any person until sufficient evidence of his deserving shall be filed with the Secretary of the Treasury and entered upon the records of the Department."

Many brave men have earned and received this medal since the passage of this act.

It is a fact scarcely known outside of the army and navy that our Government gives a medal or decoration exactly equivalent to the Iron Cross of Germany, the Victoria Cross of England or the Legion of Honor of France for distinguished military valor, and it is a singular and remarkable tribute to the modesty of the recipients that the country at large has heard so little on the subject.

The necessity and fitness of such rewards for valor has been recognized by all nations, and no reward is more highly esteemed by military men than a personal decoration for distinguished bravery.

General Washington by a general order at Newburg, August 7, 1782, provided, that for any singularly meritorious action reported by a board of officers, men should have their names enrolled in the book of merit, and should wear a heart in purple cloth or silk, edged with narrow lace or binding, and when so decorated should be permitted to pass all guards and sentinels which officers are permitted to do.

During the Mexican war officers were rewarded by brevets, and deserving privates by certificates of merit and $2 additional monthly pay.

89. But during the Civil war these makeshifts were abandoned, and the Acts of July 12, 1862, and March 3, 1863, provided that medals of honor should be given to such officers, non-commissioned

officers and privates who have most distinguished or may hereafter most distinguish themselves by gallantry in action. Up to the end of the war in 1865, 330 of these medals had been given and some 300 more have been given since that time.

90. The acts of December 21, 1861, and July 16, 1862, made similar provisions for the navy, but excluded commissioned officers.

The writer was informed by a distinguished naval officer that 338 of these medals were given during the war and 113 since.

This concludes the list of National Medals properly so-called; but there is another one that ought to be in existence, voted as far back as 1857 to the celebrated Arctic explorer, Dr. Elisha Kent Kane. This distinguished naval officer died at the early age of thirty-seven years, and it was only after his death that the medal was voted.

The Superintendent of the Mint in a letter under date March 5, 1887, says, "The Dr. E. K. Kane Medal was not struck at the Mint, but I am informed that it was manufactured in New York." The writer has not as yet, however, been able to obtain any reliable information about it.

A large number of other medals have been struck at the Mint. Some of them by order of State Legislatures, called sub-national medals; some of them for private individuals. Many of these are of great historical interest, but not being

national in the sense of being voted by Congress, they do not come within the scope of this paper.[1]

But there is a class of medals, badges or orders growing out of our various wars which should be briefly mentioned. The oldest of these is the Order of the Cincinnati.

This society was formed by the officers of the Revolutionary army at the cantonments in Newburg on the Hudson in May, 1773. The original institution adopted at that time thus describes the purpose of its formation:

"To perpetuate therefore as well the remembrance of this vast event (the Revolution) as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger and in many instances cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do hereby in the most solemn manner associate, constitute and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure or any of their eldest male posterity; and in failure thereof the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members."

[1] Congress has in various instances, in granting a gold medal to successful commanders, ordered that a silver medal should be given to each of the subordinate commissioned officers engaged in the action. But as these silver medals are simply copies of the ones in gold given to the commanding officers, they are not here separately enumerated, all being of the same design, and therefore to be considered as but one medal, exactly as the numerous life saving and Army and Navy Medals of honor are all reproductions of one original.

In the cases of Colonel John Stewart and Colonel de Fleury, subordinate officers at Stony Point, the resolution of Congress thanked them by name, and two distinct medals were struck, one by Duvivier and the other by Gatteaux, each having its separate and original design, and neither bearing any resemblance to the gold medal of Gen. Wayne.

The principles which are declared to be immutable are: to inculcate to the latest ages the duty of laying down in peace arms assumed for the public defence in war; to perpetuate the mutual friendships commenced under the pressure of common danger; and to effectuate the acts of benevolence dictated by the spirit of brotherly kindness towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving them.

The society declared to be eligible all commissioned officers of the army and navy of the United States who left the service with reputation, and foreign officers not lower in rank than colonels or captains in the navy ranking as colonels. The original membership was about 2,000, with General Washington as President as long as he lived; the present membership is however not over 500. The Hon. Hamilton Fish is the present President-General, and the Hon. Robert M. McLane President of the Maryland State branch.

The bald eagle carrying the emblems on his breast was chosen as the insignia of the order, and the medal was made in Paris by M. Duval, after designs prepared by Major L'Enfant. Dr. Franklin who was later elected an honorary member of the society for life did not approve of this selection for the following reasons, expressed in a letter to one of his family:

"For my own part I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character, he does not get his living honestly. You may have seen him perched on some dead tree where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk, and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case, but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor and often very lousy. Besides he is a rank coward; the little king bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. He is, therefore, by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati, who have driven all the *king birds* from our country, tho' exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call Chevaliers d'Industrie."

The medal is, however, a very handsome piece, and was the only foreign order allowed to be worn by French officers at the French Court. Many members settled on the land granted to them in the West for their services in the war, and General St. Clair and Colonel Sargent, two original members, named their three pioneer log-cabins, at the junction of the Licking and the Ohio, after their society, and so gave it a flourishing godchild in the city of Cincinnati.

The civil war produced the military order of the Loyal Legion, which is, I am informed, founded on exactly the principles of the Cincinnati, including

the hereditary feature which has been so much criticized. It is confined to commissioned officers and numbers over 5,000. General Sheridan is the present Commander, succeeding the late General Hancock. Their medal also represents the bald eagle on a six-pointed star.

The Grand Army of the Republic, also an outcome of the civil war, is intended to be a charitable organization for officers and men. They are very important in numbers and have a handsome bronze badge.

The Mexican war originated the Aztec Club and the Association of the Mexican Veterans, and I understand that a badge has been adopted called the *Order of the Cacti;* but this I have never seen, nor any description of it.

But none of these can be considered as national medals, inasmuch as none of them have ever received any direct Governmental recognition. Congress, however, by the act of July 25, 1868, authorized the wearing of army corps badges on occasions of ceremony.

The really national medals may, therefore, properly be limited to the eighty-three already enumerated[1] granted by order of Congress, and, extraordinary as it may seem, there does not exist in

[1] Unless the historical importance of numbers 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 69 gives them the national character which they lack by reason of not having the sanction of a Congressional resolution.

any public department of our Government—not even in the Mint itself—any complete collection of them.

In 1855 the Mint was authorized to strike copies for sale, and it was then discovered that nearly all those of the Revolutionary epoch were missing. Most of these were, however, obtained from Paris by the courtesy of the French Government, which, more zealous than our own authorities, had preserved them, and new dies were struck at our Mint.

There are, however, three not yet at the Mint—those of General Wayne, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart and Major-General Nathaniel Greene; but, after a three years' search, authentic copies have been procured and are now the property of Mr. T. Harrison Garrett, of this city—a member of this society.

The city of Baltimore earned the name of the Monumental City because of her taking the initiative in honoring the memory of Washington by the beautiful marble shaft which is to-day one of her greatest ornaments, and the erection of other historic memorials, and it would seem to be especially fitting that from the city of Baltimore should begin the action which will cause these medals to be properly preserved and placed on record in all the public departments, and in every State and Territory in the Union.

The larger projects of Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Jay, already mentioned in this paper, did not, it is true, meet with the approval of Congress so far as we know; but the modified scheme embodied in the joint resolution prepared by your committee and already read to you, if it fails now, can be tried again in the next Congress.

For these are the heirlooms of the Republic. They were given by a grateful country "*in perpetuam rei memoriam*," and they record men and things which this people must not allow to pass into oblivion.

Here in these fourscore little pieces of metal is an epitome of the history of the United States. Her victories in war and in peace, the achievements of her sons in the arts and sciences, and the munificence and patriotism of her citizens in the hour of their country's need all are recorded here.

And although they may be but the dry bones of history, they are the visible material object lessons which every American child, learning his country's history should be familiar with.

And when some Dr. Schliemann of the future in taking an archæological tour in company with Macaulay's New Zealander, may commence his excavations on the site of the ruined capital of some State to-day the newest of western territories, he shall exhume, stamped on imperishable metal, in this collection of national medals, the history of

the United States. He will not know the fact, nor perhaps will we, but none the less its existence there will be due to the efforts of the Maryland Historical Society, if it succeeds in accomplishing even partially the work that was left unfinished by Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Jay.

APPENDIX.

At the regular meeting of the Maryland Historical Society in April, 1885, the attention of the Society was called to the fact that no complete collection of the National Medals voted by Congress was known to exist in any of the departments of the government, although a number of them were preserved in some form at the United States Mint in Philadelphia.

Considering that in the interest of education and for historical reference the preservation and publication of these medals is an important national matter, the Society then passed a resolution constituting a committee for the purpose of investigating the subject and taking such steps as they might deem proper to bring it to the notice of the general government.

This committee was composed of Messrs. T. Harrison Garrett, Lennox Birckhead, and Richard M. McSherry, the latter being the chairman.

After some correspondence with the officials at the Mint, the committee concluded that the first practical step was to obtain the originals or authentic copies of those medals which are not and never have been at the Mint.

These are but four in number, namely, those of General Wayne, Colonel Stewart, and General Greene, all originally struck in France, and that of Doctor Elisha Kent Kane, which has never been struck at all, so far as the committee can discover.

After a two years' search, involving much correspondence, one of the committee got intelligence of the existence of authentic copies of the Wayne, Stewart and Greene medals, and these copies are now in Baltimore, the property of another member of the committee, Mr. Garrett.

Immediately after procuring these copies the committee prepared the following resolution, which was offered in the House of Representatives January 30, 1887, by the Hon. Jno. V. L. Findlay.

JOINT RESOLUTION authorizing and requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to have struck copies of certain medals and to deliver the same to certain departments and to the various States and Territories.

Whereas, at various times by order of the Congress of the United States, National Medals have been issued in commemoration of great national events, deeds of valor of our naval and military heroes, important public services by citizens and the administration of our Presidents.

And whereas, it is believed that no complete set of these medals is in the possession of the United States Government in the Mint or elsewhere.

And whereas, in the interest of education and for historical reference their careful preservation in some form accessible to all citizens is most important as exact memorials of events and personages notable in our national history and to be remembered with patriotic pride.

Now therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Secretary of the Treasury be and is hereby required to have struck off at the United States Mint complete sets of all the National Medals of the classes above named.

And in case a die or copy of any of such medals is not in the possession of the Mint, then the Secretary of the Treasury is

hereby required to procure the original medal or an authentic copy thereof, and to prepare a new die making an exact reproduction of the original.

And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to distribute these complete sets when made as follows:

One set in the original metal as first issued to all the executive departments of the United States Government at Washington.

One set in bronze to each of the States of the Union and the Territories, to be by them preserved accessible to the public in such form as the various Legislatures may prescribe.

And the cost of dies, material and distribution shall be defrayed by the United States Mint at Philadelphia out of its contingent fund.

This resolution was submitted to the Director of the Mint who approved of it, and was referred to the committee on coinage, weights and measures, and the only member of that committee who was referred to on the subject expressed himself as strongly in favor of it.

Time, however, did not allow the resolution to be reported by the committee on coinage, &c., and voted on by Congress, but there was no reason to apprehend any opposition to the measure, especially as the Director of the Mint estimated that the expense would be very small and could be defrayed by the Mint out of its contingent fund.

It is the intention of the committee to have the resolution again presented in the next Congress. And the object of the chairman of the committee in preparing this paper was to put clearly before the Society the purpose and scope of the resolution, and to set forth what seems to him its great historical and educational importance, in the hope that every person who reads the paper may lend his influence and assistance towards the accomplishment of so worthy a project.

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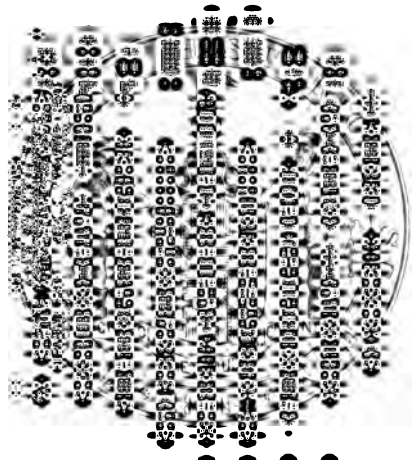

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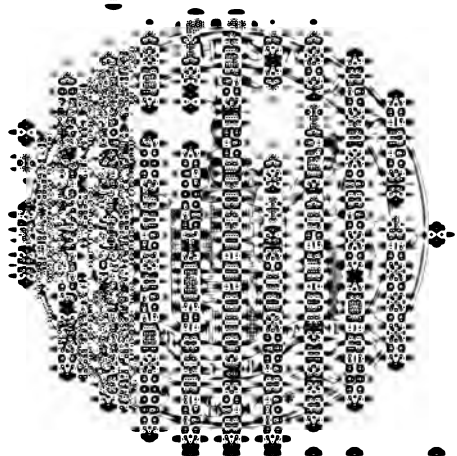

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In order that credit may be given where it is most justly due, it is proper to say, and to say distinctly, that much the greater part of what has here been related of both John Leeds and John Leeds Bozman, was derived from memoranda and private letters of that highly accomplished and most honorable gentleman, John Bozman Kerr, whose natural abilities, extensive learning and large acquaintance with Maryland History should have made him the successor of his great uncle. Other persons, most of whom have now passed away, were consulted with reference to Mr. Bozman's habits and appearance, and the information thus obtained has been cautiously used; but for his character and opinions the chief reliance has been placed upon his own writings. The county records and newspapers have given but small contribution to our knowledge of a "life exempt from public haunt." His name has gained admittance into some of the Biographical Dictionaries, but the notices of him are exceedingly meagre and imperfect.

JOHN LEEDS BOZMAN,

THE HISTORIAN.

THOSE who have rendered distinguished services to their fellows, by thought, word or deed, are wrongfully deprived of half their just meed, however well they may have been paid in life with praise and more substantial reward, if their memories are allowed to perish from the minds of men. Nor are they alone the losers by such neglect, for states and communities suffer detriment, hardly to be measured, when they permit the recollections of their good or great or useful citizens to be effaced by "the tooth of time and rasure of oblivion:" for what spur or incentive to finer natures is comparable with the hope of winning the more durable existence that the remembrance of after times confers, and what inspiration to others, less highly endowed, is equal to that afforded by lofty example held permanently

in view? If the objects of this Society are not misapprehended, one of its purposes is

> "to memorize
> And leave in books for all posterities
> The names of worthies and their virtuous deeds"

—to perpetuate or, if dying, to revive recollections of those citizens of this State who, in the past, thought, wrought and wrote wisely and well—an object most worthy of your labors. That the Maryland Historical Society, with such an object before it, should not have attempted to trace the pathway in life which lay not along the thronged thoroughfares of the "city full," but, as it were, through the lonely recesses of primitive forest, and which is now almost effaced by the falling leaves of time—that it should have made no effort to recover the lineaments, fast fading from the canvas where once they were so strongly drawn, of him who was the first[1] to essay the task

[1]The only person that can justly claim precedence in time of Mr. Bozman as the first historian of Maryland was the Rev. Thomas Bacon, the compiler of the laws of the province, whose labors, as embodied in his great work, are hardly to be estimated. It may be well enough to state that Mr. Bacon was an uncle to Mr. Bozman by marriage, and from the compiler of the laws the historian of Maryland may have received the first suggestion or inspiration to attempt the work upon which his celebrity depends.

The above is allowed to remain as written before the following attracted attention: "The earliest historian of Maryland was George Chalmers, whose *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies* was published in London in 1780 . . . His Account of Maryland is fair and for the most part accurate."—W. T. Brantly, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. III., p. 559.

upon which it has been engaged now this many years—seems strange, and the more so in view of the laborious diligence that has been expended in following the aimless wanderings and in restoring the doubtful portraiture of less considerable personages of the State. Under these circumstances, it is thought that the presentation of some account, imperfect as it may and must be, of Mr. John Leeds Bozman, the historian of the earliest years of Maryland, will not be out of place, and, perhaps, acceptable to students of Maryland history.

The history of families, *et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*, of which local history is largely made up, has of late years acquired fresh interest, and this with others besides those whose vanity it gratifies by its record of descents from ancestors easily believed to be of gentle blood, and with those others who are pleased with the genealogical puzzles which it helps to solve or complicates the more. Philosophy is using these family histories as furnishing data for the confirmation of those doctrines of heredity that have relations with so many departments of human knowledge, particularly with anthropology in all its varied branches. For this and other reasons, a few words of the ancestors of Mr. John Leeds Bozman will be pardoned. His family was of Dutch origin, and had for its founder in America William Bozman, the

immigrant—a man who is represented as having possessed great force of character. He is said to have been in the Chesapeake as early as 1627. He was later seated in that portion of the peninsula which afterwards became Somerset County, and this may be regarded as the home or solar of the family. He was appointed by Governor Calvert in 1663 one of the Commissioners to settle the boundary between Virginia and Maryland, and, in 1664, one of the Commissioners to grant warrants for land to persons desirous of removing from the jurisdiction of Virginia to that of Maryland. He held other positions of trust after the organization of Somerset County in 1666. A son of William Bozman was John, who rose to the distinction of being one of the Judges of the Provincial Court of Maryland, and from him sprang Thomas and Risdon Bozman, both of whom became residents of Talbot County. Risdon Bozman, a man of large landed possessions, fixed his home at Sherwood, upon the Eastern bay, and here he acquired consideration and position in social and civil life. He is believed to have died without children.[1] Thomas Bozman married Mary Lowe, the daughter of Colonel Nicholas Lowe, of Oxford Neck—a gentleman who at one time or

[1] Wide flats just within the Eastern bay, bordering upon this estate, are known to sailors and fishermen as the "Bozman Flats," and a town in a situation not remote has very recently been laid off, which has received the name of "Bozman," but more in honor of the historian than of his family.

another was Clerk of the County, High Sheriff, Member of the House of Burgesses and Colonel of the Militia. By his wife Colonel Thomas Bozman acquired a large estate in Talbot, upon a portion of which, subsequently, but long after his death, known as Belleville, he settled, and this became the seat of the family, passing through a collateral branch from its possession as late as 1874. He occupied many places of honor and emolument in the county and province. He was High Sheriff, a Commissioner and Justice of the Peace, the Deputy Surveyor General, Deputy Commissary General for the Eastern Shore, Colonel of Militia and a Vestryman of St. Peter's Parish.[1] Few men of his day in Maryland were held in higher esteem. The son of Colonel Thomas Bozman and Mary Lowe was John, who, marrying Lucretia Leeds, the daughter of John Leeds, of Wade's Point, became the father of John Leeds Bozman, the subject of this sketch.

At the risk of prolixity something must be said,

[1] Some of these official titles suggest to us of the present little of the honor and dignity they represented to men of a former time, for apart from the fact that the offices they designate were once of greater importance than they now are, it should be noted that in a society essentially aristocratic and yet forbidden to use the only symbols of nobility that were known, as was the case in provincial Maryland, official position conferred titular rank. Thus, names and places that would now be disdained by men of good social standing were sought after with avidity, as much for the distinction they conferred as for the emoluments they secured, and as the offices were largely monopolized by certain families, the titles assumed a kind of hereditary character.

in connection with the Bozman genesis, of Mr. John Leeds, the maternal grandfather of the historian of Maryland, for to this source, perhaps, may be traced the inclination to letters and science which he displayed. Mr. John Leeds, now almost forgotten, was held in much esteem by his contemporaries for the purity of his character and his very respectable attainments. He was the son of Edward Leeds, of Wade's Point, in Talbot County—a property which he inherited from his father, Captain William Leeds—a Puritan in religion, a contemporary of William Claiborne, a resident of Kent Island and a representative, in 1661, of Kent County in the House of Burgesses. Captain William Leeds, who died in 1708, was the son of Timothy Leeds, the immigrant, who came to Virginia with Newport's expedition.[1] John Leeds was born, according to the Quaker notation, on the 18th of the fifth month (July), 1705, and, his father dying soon after, was left to the care of his mother—a woman of strong sense as well as purity of character—who, having embraced the doctrines of the Friends, gave to the mind of her son a religious impress that was never lost, though he soon ceased all communion with these people. Of his education nothing whatever is known except that it was obtained wholly in Maryland—he

[1] As mentioned in Smith's *History of Virginia*, vol. I., p. 172, Richmond edition of 1819.

never having been sent abroad, as the sons of wealthy planters and merchants often were. It may have been received under the tuition of one of those teachers who were purchased from the ships as indentured servants, for some of these were men not so ignorant and depraved as their forlorn condition might indicate; but in view of the extremely defective instruction that was imparted at that early time in the province—in view, too, of the small encouragement that was given to the prosecution of liberal studies in such a primitive society as then existed in Maryland, and, finally, in view of the really respectable attainments of Mr. Leeds—we are justified in believing that he possessed a natural aptitude for learning which overcame educational deficiencies and a taste for letters that could not be extinguished by the rudeness of his environments. A kinsman, writing of him, said: "Though educated solely in Maryland, few among his cotemporaries had higher claims, by common consent, to rigid scholarship and more skill in the mathematics." It was on account of his proficiency in astronomy and geodesy that he was appointed by Governor Sharpe one of the Commission to supervise the work of the surveyors, Mason and Dixon, in laying down the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which in subsequent years acquired such historic celebrity and momentous political

importance. Of him Governor Sharpe said in a letter: "I appointed Mr. Leeds to be a Commissioner, and it was at my desire and request that he traveled and attended the other Commissioners. I did not think it safe with regard to Lord Baltimore's interest to be without him, there being no other person I could procure to assist whose knowledge of such matters I could rely on."[1] It is hardly doubtful that the detection of some errors in the original survey was owing to his knowledge and accuracy. Mr. Leeds gave much attention to astronomy,[2] but more particularly to optics, in which science his descendants claim that he made unrevealed discoveries which anticipated many of a later day. The truth of this there are, of course, no means of determining. He possessed a valuable collection of philosophical instruments, some of which, after his death, came into the possession of St. John's College and others remained in that of his grandson, Mr. John Leeds Bozman.[3]

[1] Services which were so valued by Governor Sharpe and upon which Mr. Leeds himself placed no slight estimate, for his accounts show that he demanded an extra allowance of a guinea for each day of one hundred and seventy-seven that he attended, are strangely ignored by historians, who do not connect his name with this important transaction.

[2] The Philosophical Transactions of 1769 contain a letter of his upon the Transit of Venus, occurring on the 3d of June in the same year. He left behind him a large mass of astronomical calculations, which it was intended to submit to Mr. Bowditch for examination; but the matter was delayed and the papers were destroyed. Of course, there are no means now of estimating their value.

[3] There is a tradition that the Maryland authorities, after the passage of the Confiscation acts in the Revolutionary era, laid claim to some of these

In the year 1735 Mr. Leeds was appointed one of the Commissioners or Justices of the Peace for Talbot County, which position he held until the year 1738, when he was appointed Clerk of the County.[1] In this place he remained for a great number of years, and while holding it he was, in 1766, appointed Naval Officer for Oxford, and at a later date, say 1773, a Judge of the Provincial Court. No office of the Provincial Government was of greater importance and dignity than this, except that of the chief executive, and his appointment to it must be regarded not only as a testimonial to his high character, but as evidence of his possessing, in addition to his other acquirements, a good knowledge of law. He was also at one time Treasurer of the Eastern Shore. During the long controversy that was waged with the Royal Government by the American Colonies prior to the actual outbreak of the hostilities of the Revolution, Mr. Leeds counselled patience and peace, and he opposed all measures that seemed to tend to the rupture of the ties which bound Maryland to the mother country, and when finally these ties

instruments, for the use of the College, as being the property of the Lord Proprietary. Mr. Leeds said that he had no objection to their going to the College, but that they were his own and refused to deliver them. Being, however, a non-juror, he transferred them to his grandson, John Leeds Bozman, by bill of sale.

[1] Allibone, in his *Dictionary of Authors*, speaks of Mr. Leeds as the "Surveyor General of Maryland." He was, probably, Deputy Surveyor General for the Eastern Shore.

were declared to be sundered, he pronounced the act precipitate, ill-advised, morally and politically culpable. He refused to renounce his allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to recognize as legitimate that government or those governments which had been set up upon the ruins of the proprietary and kingly rule. In other words, he became a Tory—a decided but inactive Tory. He refused to take the oath that was required of him, resigned all his official positions, even that of the Clerk of the Court, and retreated to the seclusion of his farm on Bay-Side.[1] As the contest grew warmer and more embittered in the colony and his county, he apprehended that proscriptive measures would be adopted in Maryland against all those who opposed the current of popular sentiment. So he settled his private affairs prepara-

[1]The following lines, "occasioned by the oath refused by non-jurors, during the Revolution," though without poetic merit, are possessed of curious interest:

The Honest man compell'd to take
An Oath his heart cou'd never make.

A PARODY,
By John Leeds, Esq.

To thee O God! who knows the secret mind,
Or, if to Virtue or to Vice inclined
My cause I leave, and hope the just award,
Who Vice can punish, Virtue will reward:
If in the maze of these degenerate days
I go, unwilling, into error's ways,
Or if by wicked men compelled to run
In paths reluctant, which I sought to shun,
Impute the error to their damned decree
Not to my heart, for that is wholly free.

Addressed to James Dickinson, Esq.

tory to leaving the country, expecting to embark with Governor Eden on the ship Fowey; but as the final step towards colonial independence was delayed, he was persuaded by kinsmen and friends of the Whig or patriot party, among whom was a very near neighbor—the Hon. Matthew Tilghman (*clarum et venerabile nomen*)—to continue at his home, and, he consenting, here remained in unmolested retirement during the whole contest, giving offence to none by the obtrusion of his sentiments upon public or private notice, and enjoying, amidst the suspicion and acrimony that was engendered by the war, the confidence and consideration of his fellow-citizens of whatsoever political belief.[1] Mr. Leeds maintained his opinions to the end of his life, and witnessing, not without self-approval, the failure of the government under the Articles of Confederation, he was confirmed in his belief that a lasting league of independent States was an illusion of political optimism, and that the only sure ground for stability was a constitutional monarchy. He did not live long enough to witness the happy working of our "more perfect Union" under our new form of government, for he died soon after the adoption of our Constitution, in March, 1790, "fully impressed with

[1] He was referred to by the Rev. John Gordon, an ardent Whig, in a sermon he delivered in 1774, during the time of the agitation produced by the Boston Port Bill, as "one of whom all had been so justly proud for his profound learning, for his excellence and purity of character."

the idea that the expenditure of lives and the waste of treasure might have been obviated by the recognition of a Colonial General Home Government under the mere prestige of British power and British laws."[1] Mr. Leeds was exceedingly liberal in his religious views, for having imbibed from a Quaker mother Arian opinions, there was ground prepared in youth for the reception and growth of the seeds of Deism, which, in his maturer years, were scattered broadcast throughout the world. It is known that, like most men of serious minds, he was led to a study of those profound questions of the origin, nature and destiny of man that lay at the basis of religious faith and practice, and, as connected with them, the dogmas and ceremonials by which different forms of religion are expressed and discriminated. His philosophic manner of considering such subjects, which he adopted instead of the emotional which characterized the people among whom he had been piously bred, may have given rise to the opinion that he was atheistical. If the rigidly orthodox discovered in him something to condemn, the more tolerant of divergencies from a catholic faith saw at the bottom of his character a veneration of that "power which makes for righteousness." He was in communion with no religious

[1] John Bozman Kerr, in a manuscript history of the Chamberlaine family, part of which only has been published.

society, but held the Friends in great respect for the purity of their lives, and, like other men in whom the filial sentiment is strong though the religious belief is weak, because their faith and practice were those of an honored parent. Of the more intimate traits of Mr. Leeds' character and of his personal appearance, little or nothing is known: but that he possessed many amiable qualities of mind and heart is attested by the affection of his immediate descendants, which is of record, and by the veneration of those more remote, which is based upon authentic family tradition. He was buried at Wade's Point,[1] his homestead—a property which was taken up originally by Zachary Wade, one of Claiborne's companions, and alienated by him when that worthy was driven from the province in 1647.[2] Mr. Leeds left this property to his grandson, John Leeds Bozman, who made it his home for a short time during the early part of his life. To the same he bequeathed his library and philosophical instruments. Mr. Leeds married, on the 14th of the

[1] The land thus designated was directly across the Eastern Bay from Kent Point, where, it is claimed, was the seat of Claiborne's settlement. Its name is variously spelled.

[2] Zachary Wade was one of the adherents of Claiborne in his resistance to the claims of Lord Baltimore. When this "evil genius," as Mr. Bozman calls him, but very improperly, was driven from Kent Island by Governor Calvert in 1647, he was one of those who "submitted themselves to his Lordship's government" and took the oath of fealty.—*Bozman's Hist. of Md.*, vol. II., p. 304 (note).

2nd month, 1726, Rachel Harrison, by whom there were born to him three daughters, but no sons. One of these daughters, Rachel, became the wife of John Bozman, as before mentioned, and the mother of the historian of Maryland.[1]

To conclude this long genealogical digression

[1] This marriage was formally ratified, according to the simple ceremony of the Friends, at the Quaker Meeting house on Dividing Creek, near the town of Trappe—consecrated in the memory of these good people by the fact that near by, at the house of William Stevens, George Fox preached when in America in 1673, having among his auditors "the Judge of the County, three Justices of the Peace and the High Sheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians one was called their Emperor, an Indian King, their Speaker, who sat very attentive and carried themselves very lovingly." The certificate of this marriage may be here inserted as a curious relic of a primitive time:

Maryland ss Where as John Leeds, Jr. and Rachel Harrison, Boath of Talbot county in the Province of Maryland, have Declared their Intentions of Marrying Publickly before severell Meetings of the People call'd Quakers in the aff'd County of Talbot, according to the good order used among them, whose proceedings thare in were approved By the said Meeting, thay appering clear of all others: Now, these are to Certify all whome itt may Concern that for the full accomplishment of their said Marriage, They the said John Leeds and Rachel Harrison appeared in a Publick meeting of the afforesaid People, att their meeting house att Choptank this fourtenth day of ye Second Month In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty six, and In a Solemn Manner He the said John Leeds, taking the S'd Rachel Harrison by the hand Did Publickly Declare as followeth: Friends, in the fear of the Lord and Praying for Divine assistance, I take my friend Rachel Harrison to be my Wife, Promesing to be to her a True, Loving & Affectionat Husband untell itt shall Pleas allmighty God by Death to separate us. And then and thare the said Rachel Harrison did in like manner declare as followeth: Friends, in the fear the Lord and Praying for Divine Assistance, I take my friend John Leeds to be my Husband, Promising to be to him a True Loving and Affectionat Wife untell itt shal Please all mighty God by Death to separate us. And the said John Leeds and Rachel Leeds, she now according to the Custom of Marriage, Assuming the name of Her Husband, as a further Confirmation did then and thare to these Presents sett their Hands, and we whose names are here unto subscribed being Present Att the solemnnizing

and to return to the subject of this memoir, it may be stated that there is no difficulty in tracing atavic influence in the forming of the mind and character of John Leeds Bozman. It has been shown that he came from ancestors that were not only reputable, but mentally well-endowed, some

of the said Marriage and Subscription affore said, as witnesses, Have to these presents sett our hands the Day and Year above writen.

John Leeds Junr.
Rachl Leeds.

Samuel Dickinson,	John Powell,
Ruth Richardson,	Will. White [?],
William Harrison,	William Lewis,
Henry Troth,	Chas. Dickinson,
Wm. Dickinson,	Solomon Edmondson,
Peter Sharp,	Christopher Birkhead,
Danl. Powell,	Joseph Wray,
Howll Powell,	Solomon Sharp,
Walter Dickinson,	Henry Sharp,
John Gorsuch,	John Stevens,
Wm. Sharp,	Howell Powell, Jr.,
Wm. Edmondson,	Peter Webb.
John Kemp,	

[The names of the women are all written by one person].

Rebeckah Dickinson,	Susanah Powell, Jun.,
Elizabeth Harrison,	Sarah Webb,
Ann Harrison,	Ester Edmondson,
Susanah Powell,	Sarah Webb, Jun.,
Suffrah Dickinson,	Mary Horney,
Sarah Powell,	Magdalen Stevens.

Under the name of his wife upon this certificate John Leeds wrote with touching simplicity: "She died 10th May 1746 having well and faithfully performed her covenant." In the handwriting of Mr. John Leeds Bozman, upon the paper enclosing this certificate, which he seems to have treasured with filial piety, was an endorsement which effectually settles a disputed point of biography, namely, the birth-place of the celebrated John Dickinson, author of "Farmer's Letters," and of General Philemon Dickinson, of

of whom possessed a culture rarely to be found in a new and sparsely settled country remote from those influences that are helpful or stimulating to intellectual effort. How far his example proves the doctrines of heredity, this is not the place to consider.

John Leeds Bozman, the son of John and

the Revolutionary Army, both of whom, as will appear, were the kinsmen of Mr. Bozman. The following is the memorandum: "The within Rachel Harrison, to whom my grand father John Leeds was married, according to the enclosed certificate, was one of the daughters of William Harrison and Elizabeth his wife, whose estate and place of residence lay in Talbot County, on the Choptank river contiguous to the place called Barker's Landing. The said Elizabeth Harrison's maiden name was Dickinson. She was the only daughter of William Dickinson, of Talbot county, merchant, who died in 1718 and left Samuel Dickinson his eldest son and heir at law. Samuel Dickinson by a first wife, had Henry Dickinson his eldest son & heir; but by a second wife (who was a sister of Doct Cadwallader of Philadelphia) he had two other sons, viz, John Dickinson, (celebrated for his Farmer's letters) and Philemon Dickinson, commonly called General Dickinson of the State of New Jersey. The plantation and residence of the present Doct Saml. Dickinson, a grand son of the above mentioned Henry (lying on Choptank) [and still, 1887, possessed by a lineal descendant] has been transmitted to him from his great grandfather, the above mentioned Saml. Dickinson, and was the family seat of the above mentioned Samuel the Elder. These facts appear from a *copy* of a deed of release (in my grand father, John Leeds' hand writing) which appears to have been given by him to the above mentioned Saml. Dickinson, the elder and son of William, in the year 1734, for his wife Rachel's distributive share of her grand-father's, William Dickinson's, personal estate, her mother Elizabeth Harrison, being then dead. Her distributive share for which the Release appears to have been given amounted to 100 pounds sterling and 50 pounds currency.

"JOHN LEEDS BOZMAN
"*Sept. 7th*, 1814."

It may be added, though nothing more is needed, that recent investigations prove incontestably that both John Dickinson and Philemon Dickinson were natives of Talbot County, and, therefore, that this County and this State of Maryland are entitled to a portion, at least, of the honors that are reflected from these illustrious names.

Lucretia (Leeds) Bozman, was born upon the estate subsequently named Belleville, in Oxford Neck, Talbot County, Maryland, on the 25th of August, 1757. Of his early life little or nothing is known. It was, probably, that of a country boy of the present—lonely, idle and monotonous. His father dying when he was but ten years of age, he was fortunate enough to fall under the care of his maternal grandfather, William Leeds, who directed his education. After primary instruction at home, he was sent to Back Creek Academy, afterwards Washington Academy, in Somerset County, a school of high reputation in its day. At a suitable age, when he had made proper progress in his studies, he matriculated at the Pennsylvania College, now the University of Pennsylvania, where he made a complete course and was regularly graduated. It having been determined that the profession of law should be his calling for life, he was in 1777 entered as a lawyer's apprentice with Judge Robert Goldsborough,[1] the fourth of the name, of Myrtle Grove, and after the close of the war of the Revolution, he was, in 1784, sent to England for the com-

[1] There is a tradition pretty well established that while an apprentice to Judge Goldsborough at his seat in Talbot, he met with Miss Callista Callister, whose charms may have inspired a tender passion in his breast, and whose death certainly inspired some threnetic stanzas, which were printed in the *Port Folio*, and acquired considerable vogue in their day, but are now justly forgotten.

pletion of his legal studies. He was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, London, his grandfather defraying the necessary expenses attending his residence abroad. His most intimate companion in London was Mr. William Vans Murray, of Dorchester County, also a student of Middle Temple, who subsequently rose to distinction in political life, becoming not only a member of Congress but a Minister at the Hague. With him Mr. Bozman maintained a personal and epistolary correspondence until the death of Mr. Murray; and some of the letters of these friends, recalling incidents of their life in Fig Tree Court, where they had their chambers, indicate that they were not so absorbed in study as to decline participating in the gaieties, or if it must be told, the dissipations of the great city. After spending several years at this school, "mastering the lawless science of our law," he returned to Maryland and Talbot, was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of his profession in the various courts of the State and county. He served as Deputy Attorney General under the eminent Luther Martin, his warm friend and associate, from the year 1789 to 1807, but it is believed he never held any other office of trust or profit. It does not appear that he acquired any great distinction as an advocate, but he was held in high esteem for the extent of his legal erudition

and for the soundness of his professional judgments. His abilities and tastes fitted him for the calm and quiet duties of the counsellor, or better still for the deliberate decisions of the judge, rather than for the stormy contests and fallacious plausibilities of the pleader. Some of his law papers, presented to the General Court and the Court of Appeals, are said to be drawn up with extraordinary acumen and research. A kinsman, perhaps too partial, has said that a paper of Mr. Bozman, presented to the Court of Appeals by one of the counsel in the case of Martindale and Troupe, familiar to most legal gentlemen of this State through "Harris & McHenry's Reports," where it is inserted without name, is an actual monument of abstruse law, learning and forensic dialectics; that he had heard a most capable scholar and jurist declare that he had frequently resorted to its logic in his pleadings before the Supreme Court of the United States, and had taken occasion to say, in the presence of the same august tribunal, in his ignorance of its true author, that there was but one mind capable of such depth of reasoning—the distinguished Marylander, William Pinkney. As to the justness of this estimate, a layman is incapable of determining; but it is allowable to quote the words of as severe a critic as any—Mr. Bozman himself—that the argument in this case, first set

forth in a pamphlet published by him in 1794, hereafter to be noticed, "was then deemed, by most gentlemen of the profession of the law in Maryland, to have thrown light upon a very intricate subject, and to have been, without doubt, the foundation of the reversal in the Court of Appeals of a judicial decision thereon in the General Court."—(*Bozman MSS.*)

Some essays on legal subjects, presently to be noticed, give evidence of excellent equipment for the conflicts of the courts; but where agility of mind is so important a qualification for success, it is probable the weight of his own armor was a burden and the length of his own sword an embarrassment. Situated, as he was, in a small and poor community remote from the great centres of population and commerce, it is not astonishing that his practice at the bar won for him neither munificent emoluments nor dazzling honors; and, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that a man such as Mr. Bozman, whose fortune, moderate as it was, relieved him from the necessity of pursuing his profession for a livelihood, and one who felt his own capabilities for winning the higher prizes and palms, if such had been offered for competition, should have abandoned his profession to give himself up to those pursuits which, if they were not more remunerative, were more pleasurable than the petty disputations of the courts or the monotonous routine of the office.

It is not known when he finally abandoned legal practice; but he had always been glad to escape the turmoil and contention which it involved, and find refuge in the tranquil retreats of literature and science. Cut off, as he was, from the aids and resources of literary culture, privileges enjoyed by residents of the cities—collections of books and intercourse with learned men—he spent his life in the seclusion of his farm, and the income of a moderate fortune and professional practice in accumulating a library which for the day might be called extensive, and for any day choice and valuable. This library, bequeathed to his nephew, the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, sometime Senator of the United States, came into the possession of Mr. John Bozman Kerr, Member of Congress and Minister Resident to Central America, and was sold within a few years past in the City of Baltimore. It indicated the wide scope of Mr. Bozman's reading, embracing, as it did, the best productions of all time without excluding the current literature of his day. Besides being well-read in English literature, he appears to have been an accomplished classical scholar and to have possessed a fair knowledge of the French language. The natural sciences, too, claimed his attention; but that of botany seemed to possess for him the greatest interest—as much, perhaps, because it allied itself with agriculture,

of which he was, in common with most gentlemen of his day in his county, a diligent practitioner, as because its objects presented themselves to his notice in his daily walks and demanded more than admiring notice. But what may be called the sciences of man—those that relate to history and government, ethics and morals—engaged his attention more than any other during his maturer years. He says of himself: "Whenever the author's occupation in life permitted his indulgence in any literary pursuit, that of history always presented to him the greatest attractions." His information, however, was extensive upon most subjects, and it was said of him that he was "respected as a man of learning among learned men."[1]

But Mr. Bozman was not content to enjoy the productions of others without attempting to add something of his own to the repast that is spread by generous minds for the refreshment of all. In his day "the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease" was not so large as at present. Journals and other periodicals did not so abound as now, inviting and rewarding literary labor of every

[1] The following is from a letter dated August, 1793, to his friend, William Vans Murray: ". . . I was, just before my late illness, deep in physiognomy. I had lately bought a London abridgment of *Lavater's Essays*. I know no book that leads a man to such thorough investigation of himself in what I would call a philosophic point of view—that is, as an *Animal*. It is a science hitherto but little explored; but depend on it, that before many centuries are past, deep researches will be made in it.

sort. He exercised his pen industriously and pleasurably, but not gainfully. He occasionally dallied with the Muses, particularly in early life, and even when engaged in serious work he was fond, in his moments of relaxation, of exercising the gentle art of versification. There are still extant effusions of his, both in print and in manuscript, that evince some skill in verse-making, but none of the divine *afflatus*. A few of these were thought to be of sufficient merit to gain insertion in the *Morning Herald* of London and the *Portfolio* of Philadelphia; but they are strained in sentiment and artificial in construction. They are only valuable as literary curiosities, so none of them need be here presented to prove his want of "the vision and the faculty" of the true poet.[1] He was a contributor of articles upon subjects of current discussion and temporary interest to other journals of the large cities. These articles were apparently welcomed by the editors, as they drew attention and sometimes provoked controversy. He did not disdain to write for the *Eastern Shore Herald*, the little weekly journal that began to be issued in 1790 in the town of Easton and was edited by James Cowan—the first newspaper published upon the Eastern Shore and the third

[1] An ode on the *Discovery of the Georgian Star*, an *Elegy on the Death of Miss C. C.* [Callista Callister], and a translation of Milton's elegy on the *Return of Spring*, are his best and those from which he derives the least discredit as a poet.

printed within the bounds of the State of Maryland. Many of his communications, over the signature of *Hortensius*, are now recognizable; but many others, anonymous or pseudonymous, are not distinguishable. Those that are known to be his are valuable as giving us an insight into his character, for they exhibit him in his more familiar moods.[1]

But besides these fugitive pieces, written for his own or others' mental diversion or to serve some temporary purposes, he wrote several labored essays upon legal, political and social subjects. The first of these was entitled "Observations on the Proposed Bill, entitled 'An Act to declare and explain the Law in certain cases therein mentioned,'" and was contained in a pamphlet of forty-three pages, printed by James Cowan at Easton in 1794. This was drawn forth by the introduction of a bill to "remedy the consequences of the decision of the General Court in the case of ejectment of Martindale *versus* Troop," reported in 3 Harris & McHenry, 244, and was a statute of limitations. As before mentioned, the argument of this essay was used some years later before the Court of Appeals, and was instrumental in the reversal of the decision of the Court below.

[1] He assumed, too, the rôle of the unordained homilist, for fragments of a sermon of his have been found, written, perhaps, to test his own powers in an unusual line of literary production.

It attracted so much attention that the author resolved to publish a second edition, recast and extended however, which should bear the title, "Observations on the Statute of 21 Jac. I. ch. 16, in application to Estates tail." This he intended should be the first of a series of "Law tracts or Essays on Several subjects arising under the Laws of Maryland," and though it was prepared and made ready for the press, there is no evidence that it was ever published.[1] This production seems to display the possession by the author of a great legal erudition and a judicial spirit of interpretation; but as it would be presumptuous in the *indocti laici*, as Mr. Bozman calls those not of the profession, to pass judgment upon its merits, propriety and prudence dictate that nothing should here be said of this essay as a disquisition upon law. Nevertheless, it is permissible to quote a few of the concluding sentences as illustrative of the author's opinion upon a matter affecting the social structure. He says:

"And now, as I flatter myself I have with some success endeavored to show, that this proposed bill is neither *unconstitutional* nor unjust, I shall conclude this subject with a word or two on the policy of this measure. I am ready to acknow-

[1] The "rough copy" of this enlarged essay is in existence in Mr. Bozman's handwriting, and upon this he notes that he had made a "fair copy" for the printer.

ledge, that there is something laudable and amiable in the conduct of a man, who by honest industry and moderate economy endeavors to acquire property as a means of a comfortable subsistence, not only for his own enjoyment, but to be transmitted to his children after his decease. For such purposes the laws do well in encouraging the acquisition of property. The private virtues of life are by these means fostered and cherished. The gratitude of children to parents and the affections of families to each other are thereby more strongly cemented. The activity and industry of our citizens are from this cause spurred and excited. Hence result many public advantages;—the encouragement of the arts and sciences,—the extension of commerce,—and the improvement of agriculture. But it is obvious to have the full effect of these public benefits, free alienation of property is an essential circumstance. When property is made unalienable, it is like so much coagulated blood in the veins of an animal, which does not circulate. It is politically unwholesome. The industry of our citizens is as effectually stopped by such a stagnation of property, as on the other hand it is stirred and promoted by a free circulation. And though I approve of a parental care of children, yet I feel myself forced into the observation, that this apparent fondness for posterity most fre-

quently originates from a sordid itch for that contemptible species of fame, which is built upon the basis of wealth. It is not possible, that a man can feel any real affection for those, of whom he knows nothing and of whose existence he can have no certainty. His children about him are justly the objects of his affection, but future descendants can only raise in his mind an imaginary attachment. Thus, to put it in the most favorable point of view—the parsimonious ancestor may imagine that he feels a sincere affection for his future unborn posterity. So the religious fanatic frequently fancies that he feels sensations of which neither he himself nor any other person can have any clear ideas. The building up of a family, like the endowment of a monastery, may demonstrate the zeal of the devotee, but they are acts of weakness, on which reason looks with pity. They are equally gifts to superstitious uses. Perpetuities and mortmain produce similar inconveniences to society. The are both liable to the same objections. They are both clogs to the alienation of property. Both have long been held in abhorrence and detestation by the laws of England. . . . This family law, as it has been called, has ever been wisely reprobated and leaned against even by the judges of England. . . . With us, also, they have been so far discouraged that, until this late decision of the General Court,

it was thought that in a few years they would have been utterly extinct. The before-mentioned Act of 1766, Nov., ch. 21, the Act of 1773, June, ch. 1, by which estates-tail were made alienable by deed of bargain and sale; the same, reënacted 1782, Nov., ch. 23; the late act regulating descents, are all demonstrative of the disposition of the people of the State towards this family law. Nor is this antipathy founded upon an improper prejudice. It is an unhappy truth, which cannot well be avoided under any form of government, that power and wealth are concomitant. If property, by a restriction of alienation, is allowed to accumulate in families, it must follow that an acquisition of power will be vested in them in an equal proportion. Hence aristocracies of a formidable nature might spring up. Although our State Constitution might, perhaps, be improved by a few alterations, yet, in a general point of view, it is certainly as happy an adjustment of the democratic form as could have been devised. But if we once give into a habit of encouraging by our laws an accumulation of wealth in families, I know not how long we may retain this excellent form of government. It is not that I would affect to be alarmed at the claims of a few individuals to some latent estates-tail. It is the *principle* which I combat. I repeat it, that if the Legislature show such sacred regard to these imaginary

rights of families, the principle may hereafter be adopted and engrafted into other laws, which may lay the embryo seeds of a fatal aristocracy. Whoever recalls to his mind the history of many governments in the world must know that *aristocratic republics* are the luckless shapes into which democracies in the flux of time too frequently mould themselves. The Republics of Venice and Genoa bear testimony to this. Ought we not, therefore, cautiously to avoid even the least progress towards so unfortunate a deviation? As we have taught the nations of the earth how to obtain liberty, let us also teach them how to preserve it."[1]

But it is proper to say that although the whole drift of his argument is in the direction of the constitutionality and expediency of the proposed law for the limitation of entails, and in opposition to systems of inalienable hereditaments, there was a recoil of his mind from extreme sentiments, then prevalent, antagonistic to the perpetuation of estates by a settled succession of heirs, for he says elsewhere in this essay: "Although I have herein allowed full scope to all the objections which have been made by Mr. Justice Blackstone or others, to the impolicy of estates-tail as a mode of prohibiting the free alienation of real property, particularly where such property is

[1] This extract has been copied from the original publication of 1794.

rendered intangible to creditors, yet I beg leave to suggest some considerations in opposition thereto, which ought I think to be attended to in the midst of our zeal against this *family-law*, as it has been called. We know that every community of mankind existing under almost any form of government is composed rather by an aggregation of *families* than of *individuals*. The more men are loosened from the cares and affections of a family the nearer they approximate to that individual solitude which is more generally the concomitant of a savage life. When a man is surrounded by his wife and children who look up to him for a sustenance, not only during his uncertain life, but to be provided for them in case of his death, his industry is stimulated by such circumstances beyond the excitement from almost any other cause. From this additional industry thus excited, the public, as all political economists acknowledge, are benefited. This individual industry is also further promoted by giving to the person thus exercising it, the entire disposition of all the property so acquired by him; and such right of disposition ought not to be confined to the duration of his life only, but he ought to have the right of directing the succession of his property, whether real or personal, after his decease, in such manner as shall be most consonant with his feelings and opinions.

To give him this right by no means implies that he should have the power of so fettering his property, in directing the succession of it, as that it should not be at all times amenable to creditors, who, on the ostensible faith thereof might happen to give credit to those to whom he has thus directed the succession. Estates-tail, therefore, in real property, when they are created by the first purchasers or acquirers of such property, seem to be a mode of transmitting the succession of such property justly allowable as the reward of industry. As a set-off against the *disobedience* of children, before mentioned, as an objection against entails, may be mentioned the wanton alienation which frequently occurs, by *ungrateful* children, of all the property entailed upon them by an industrious and affectionate parent, from all those of his family, to whom he had fondly supposed the acquirements of his industry might accidentally descend. Under the old Provincial Government instances frequently occurred, some of which have come to the knowledge of the author of this essay, wherein the *entailing* of an estate has been the means of preserving a meritorious family from want and ruin, where an ungrateful heir had alienated such entailed estate to a wanton wife, in no manner connected by the tender ties of blood to

him, who, by the sweat of his brow, had first industriously acquired it."

There is no reason to believe that Mr. Bozman carried his scheme of a series of "Law Tracts" further than the first number; but in 1802 a pamphlet appeared which, though anonymous and bearing no imprint of the name of the publisher or place of issue, is attributed to him upon excellent authority.[1] It constitutes a proposal or plan for a new arrangement of the Courts, and appears to have been drawn forth by the disagreeable experience of the evils and insufficiencies of the system of judicature established in Maryland by the statute of 1790. This system was condemned and had been years before by the most enlightened jurists of the State, who were considering the best methods for its reformation. Whether the suggestions made in this essay for the reorganization of the Courts were regarded as valuable it is impossible, at this day and in the absence of specific information, to declare; but they seem to have the merit of avoiding revolutionary methods and of being based upon historical precedent, and they adumbrated the system which was adopted in 1805. Besides Orphans' Courts and a Criminal

[1] The following is the full title: "A new arrangement of the Courts of Justice of the State of Maryland proposed. Ea jura, vero, quæ ipsa sibi quæque civitas constituit, sæpe mutari solent, vel tacito consensu populi, vel alia postea lege lata. Justin. Inst. Lib. I. Tit. 2. Sec. 11. Maryland: Printed for the Author.

Court for Baltimore City, the establishment of Hundred Courts, County Courts, General Courts and Courts of Appeal was recommended, and the limits of jurisdiction of each of these were defined. It would be pretentious for one unacquainted with law and the procedures of law tribunals to pass any opinion upon the worth of Mr. Bozman's scheme; but an extract from his brochure will serve to illustrate the character of one class of the Courts then existing, namely, the County Courts, which, if the picture be not overdrawn. seem to have been falling, and deservedly falling, into contempt. It will also serve to present some social phases of the time, as well as exhibit the style of the writer when in his lighter vein. It should be remembered that the bench of the County Courts was occupied by one Chief Justice, who was Chief Justice of a judicial district and always a lawyer, and of two Associate Justices of the several counties in the district, not always nor generally of the legal profession, and corresponding to the puisne Judges of the mother country and some of the States. In fact, the Associate Judges in Maryland were a survival of the provincial system of County Courts, with their "Worshipful the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace and Judges of the Quorum." There is little doubt that the picture Mr. Bozman paints in the following extract was a portrait and not a

caricature:[1] "To illustrate this part of our subject the author solicits the reader's indulgence in supposing, for a few moments, that one of the Chief Justices of our District County Courts may be of the following character: Born of parents descended from the most ancient and wealthy families of the State, he was consequently nurtured in the very lap of our provincial aristocracy and educated in the aristocratic principles of our ancient provincial gentry. Thus descended and thus educated, it may be naturally supposed that he affixes high consideration to the recommendations of wealth and birth. We will suppose him possessing numerous family connexions. If any one of his near relations, illustrious both for his wealth and birth, shall be summoned to the vulgar discharge of the vulgar duties of a juror, he is released from that troublesome office, and permitted to return home to the more gentleman-like and agreeable recreations of fishing and hunting; but this judge, so highly prejudiced in favor of an aristocracy, will oftentimes most absurdly display a partiality on the side of democracy. It is true, this partiality is not the result of affection. Like the Indian in his

[1] The gentleman who, in 1802, held the seat of Chief Justice was the Hon. James Tilghman, of Queen Anne's, and his Associates for Talbot were Samuel Dickinson and Jacob Gibson, Esquires. Of one of these, who had been more than once indicted, it was said by a political opponent that when he was seen to enter the Court-room, there was always doubt whether he was to occupy the dock or the bench. To which of the Justices this reference was made, it is here purposely left in uncertainty.

adoration of a dæmon, he worships through fear. If a powerful popular democrat comes before him to be fined, either for an offence or contempt, he is discharged, *sub silentio*, with the slightest possible fine or, perhaps, without any. If the like character happens to be a suitor in a cause and the judgment of the Court on a point of law becomes necessary, the like subserviency is exhibited by him; but it is not with suitors and offenders merely that his *prejudice* and his *partiality* prevail—he extends them to the attorneys at the bar. He dispenses justice on a system of *favoritism.* One or two in every Court of his district are always listened to with the most partial attention. If any who does not bask in the sunshine of his favor happens to be concerned on the contrary side, he is not looked at or listened to when he speaks. All his arguments, however forcible or pertinent to the subject, are treated as nothing to the purpose. He is interrupted by doubtful queries without the slightest foundation. If he is addressing the jury and his remarks are likely to take effect on them, he is stopped as wandering from the evidence, particularly if one of the favorites is so uncandid as to intimate a wish for it. Still consistent with those aristocratic principles imbibed in his youth, his favorite attorneys are most commonly his relations, and, fortunately for his permanence in office,

these consist of both Federal and anti-Federal characters. While one drop of that highly-rectified fluid which flows in the veins of his family connections can be traced, they may boast one of the attributes of royalty—they never can be wrong. It is proper that the low-bred attorney, lifted from among the swinish multitude, should return to his filth and dirt in order that the high-born lawyer may live in luxury. Thus, the discerning suitor soon discovers the most successful counsel to whom he must commit his cause. He whispers to himself, this judge will not be bribed by money, I know; but, what is tantamount, if I employ one of his favorites I am sure of success. Meanwhile, this righteous judge sits with looks so mild, so placid and so gentle that he would not hurt a fly, so he would not. And yet so deeply-rooted are his prejudices in favor of wealth and birth, and so shameless and lost is he to every sentiment of delicacy on this subject, that he does all this beyond the ability of any spectator, even with microscopic assistance, to discern the slightest crimson on his cheek. Thus are those canker-worms of justice, bribery and corruption, from their detestable vermicular state, changed by an invisible transmutation into the less odious and apparently less noxious forms of partiality and prejudice. Should I be told that such a character is fictitious and nowhere exists, I say it is immaterial

to the present purpose whether it be true or fabulous. It is sufficient if these Courts, constituted as they are, admit the existence of such a creature, especially when, by an amendment, such an existence may be annihilated.

"But where are the Associates all this while, it may be asked? Mute as alabaster busts on each side of a clock over a chimney-piece. The middle machine, it is true, tells the time, but it may tell it wrong. The silent figures though moulded into the human face divine, are yet insensible of its errors. Under the old system of the County Courts when the Justices of the Peace were the judges thereof, it has happened, that diffident and modest men have refused to qualify under a commission, because thereby they would be under the necessity of acting as judges in a court of law. . . . Placed upon a perfect equality of understanding, they had no superior among themselves on whose judgment they might repose a greater degree of confidence than their own. But now the Associates absolutely resign themselves and their consciences to the entire disposal of the Chief Justice. He is the Pope among the Cardinals. His doctrines are infallible. As in the Athanasian creed of the Trinity, although there are three persons, yet they make but one Judge. In short, it has always appeared extraordinary that any man of any delicacy would

accept of such such a situation. But this is of trifling consideration when compared to that of its importance to the public." Of this essay it may be permitted to one unlearned in the law to say that, while it does not display the extensive erudition which was so conspicuous in the one before mentioned, there are not wanting evidences of the same kind of wide and accurate knowledge that justify the claim that has been made for the author of being a jurist of the first order. But the chief merit of this essay lay in the practical nature of its suggestions for a new judicial system for Maryland which, while they indicated acquaintance with the systems of other states and countries, were really founded upon a clear conception of the needs of his own State and of the means of satisfying them.

From the time of the organization of the American Colonization Society, and probably before, Mr. Bozman was an earnest advocate of its plan for solving the two great problems on which moralists and patriots had painfully labored for many years, namely, the extirpation of slavery and the destiny of the negro race in this country. Of these two problems we, in our own day, by a most costly and bloody calculus, have solved but one—we have abolished slavery. The other remains as inscrutable as ever. But in the early part of this century good and wise men thought

they had discovered the key to the sociological enigmas in African colonization. We now know that this was but a phantom, born of the "enthusiasm of humanity," which has disappeared in the broad light of experience. Mr. Bozman, however, was one of those who believed in its reality and efficiency. In 1820 he wrote an essay and published it in the city of Washington, in approval of the scheme of the society for the transportation of the whole African race in America to their original seat.[1] There was something exceedingly captivating in this scheme to benevolent and patriotic minds—so much so, that they did not pause to consider its want of feasibility. While advocating this project as a practical answer to most embarrassing ethical and social questions, and also, perhaps, for the purpose of relieving himself of the imputation, more dreaded formerly than the present generation can imagine, of being an Abolitionist, for which his early training among the Friends, and his known hostility to slavery on the grounds of political and economical inexpediency, seem to have given some foundation, he took occasion to declare explicitly his belief

[1] The title of this essay is as follows: *An Essay on the late institution of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.* Washington: Printed by Davis and Force, Pennsylvania Avenue, 1820, pp. 83. The subject was treated of under three heads in as many sections. Sec. 1. As to the Justice and Rectitude of the Measure. Sec. 2. As to the Policy and Necessity of the Measure. Sec. 3. As to the Expediency and Practicability of the Measure.

in the natural inequality of the races, founded upon distinctness of origin, his approval of the policy of retaining the negro in a state of slavery as long as he should be in contact with the white man, and his condemnation of any interference with the relation of master and slave, either by individual intermeddling or governmental interposition, as calculated to render the condition of the negro less tolerable, the conduct of the master less kindly and considerate, and the general well-being of society less secure and happy. Clearly Mr. Bozman, upon this subject, was not materially in advance of a majority of his fellow-citizens, and was cherishing illusions which he shared with the most comprehensive and benevolent minds of the time, and which, in fact, are not yet wholly dispelled, namely, that nothing but evil could result from freeing the blacks, and that the transportation of millions of that race to the shores of Africa was a practicable scheme. In truth, political science, of which he was merely a student, was then only advancing to the position, and political art, in which he had no experience, was then only receiving that development they have since attained, in which justice is regarded as the only sure basis of public policy and equality of rights the best security of social order. The doctrine of the "higher law" of morals as dominating statutory provisions or customary regula-

tions having the force of law had not then received such confirmatory arguments as the events of the last fifty years have afforded, nor had benevolence, with eyes too suffused with tears for suffering man, perceived—nor does it yet seem to see—that the best assistance it can give the weak and unfortunate is to afford a fair opportunity for the free exercise of their own unaided efforts. Slavery has been abolished without being followed by the evils prognosticated by Mr. Bozman and by those deemed wise in their day; and colonization has failed, though suggested by the purest morality, advocated by the best intelligence and sustained by the most liberal beneficence. It might have been expected of a man like him, viewing society from the serene heights of philosophy, that he would have been able to have clearer perceptions than those of his cotemporaries living upon a lower plane; but if any excuse be required for his limited and defective vision, it may be found in the fact that he wrote when the moral atmosphere was filled with the clouds of the Missouri controversy, and when the benevolent scheme of colonization was too readily welcomed, in default of a better, as a refuge from the greater political tempest which that storm but heralded, which he himself anticipated, and which it has been our fortune to experience in all its destructive violence but purifying sequences.

Besides these essays, which were printed and of which copies remain, Mr. Bozman wrote two others that never saw the light of publicity. One of these, prepared during the winter preceding his death, was upon the *Law of Treason in the United States*—an obscure and difficult subject considering the duplex nature of our government, under which States claiming independence form a confederation claiming paramount allegiance. Nothing whatever is known of the contents of this essay, for as Mr. Bozman was doubtful of the propriety of publishing it, and was desirous of having criticism upon it after its completion, it was submitted to some of his learned friends of the City of Baltimore. He dying soon after, it remained in the hands of one of them, and though his literary executor, Mr. John Leeds Kerr, made diligent search for the manuscript, he was unable to discover the place of its deposit. It may yet be recovered.[1] It has been conjectured that the reason of its suppression was the expression of high Federal sentiments and the controversion of the doctrines of State sovereignty. Who shall say of what service it might have been in our late troubles?

The second unpublished essay referred to was upon the *Prime Causes leading to the Revolution.*

[1] It is said the manuscript was sent to either the Hon. Robert Goodloe Harper, or to General William H. Winder, friends of Mr. Bozman and eminent lawyers.

It was incomplete at the time of his death, and was probably abandoned as treating of a dangerous subject. One who saw this fragment has stated that in it the lofty principles which are commonly attributed to the leaders of that movement were questioned, and the influence of personal ambition, the spirit of party and the solicitation of self-interest were made conspicuous; that while there was nothing but praise for Washington, there were animadversions of great severity upon Franklin, to whom was denied the possession of good morals, high motive of personal conduct, disinterested patriotism and even originality in either his writings or his discoveries. If this be a correct representation, there can be little doubt that Mr. Bozman remembered the opinions of his Tory grandfather, John Leeds, and was biassed by them in his judgments of the men of his time; and that he was affected, too, by his own political views, which were more nearly in accord with the virtual aristocracy of Washington than with the essential democracy of Franklin. If Mr. Bozman had completed this essay, it is believed he would have thrown light upon an obscure subject in our national history, namely, the motives and methods of our much-lauded revolutionary sires, whom patriotic legend has invested with excellences almost as preternatural as those of the saints in mediæval hagiography.

Much more has been said of these minor productions of the pen of Mr. Bozman than such *libelli* would seem to deserve, for the reason that they are less known than his greater work, the *History of Maryland*, upon which his reputation mainly depends. This is so familiar that an extended notice of it would be superfluous. The outward incidents in the lives of men of letters are, for the most part, few and of but little importance compared with those of men of action. Their biographies are histories rather of thoughts than of deeds. If they could be written with completeness, to the projection of a great literary work would be given the importance that is assigned to the conception of a great policy by the statesman, and the publication of a great book would be made to correspond with the winning of a great battle by a great soldier. In the case before us it would be interesting to know by what mental paths Mr. Bozman was led to the undertaking of the task of writing a history of his native State. As the history of any country is largely written in its laws and customs, the student of the profession he adopted almost necessarily becomes a student of history, and it was thus, in all probability, that he was led by his legal studies and duties to the determination of collecting and ordering those occurrences, circumstances or events which gave origin to the laws he was called

upon to interpret and apply. But not only may the requirements of his vocation have suggested the study of his State's history, but it furnished him with excellent preliminary equipment for such a task. What other preparation he made aside from his acquaintance with early Maryland law and by his extensive and varied reading can only be conjectured. It is not believed that an examination of colonial papers in public offices or private hands made any part of his duty or his pleasure during his residence at the Temple in London. His work does not betray evidence that he had access to any sources of information other than those of printed works and the records of the Province and State at Annapolis. These were most industriously searched and laboriously copied. As early as 1805, as he himself states, he "undertook the task of examining the Provincial records at Annapolis, with a view of extracting from them the necessary materials for his design" of compiling and digesting them into a historical work. After proceeding as far in the execution of his purpose as the writing of an *Introduction to a History of Maryland* and a single chapter of the body of the book, embracing the events of three years only from the date of the settlement in 1634, he learned that Mr. Kilty, the capable compiler of the *Land Holder's Assistant*, was engaged upon a similar work, and, knowing his superior facilities

for its execution, being the Clerk of the Land Office of the State, he abandoned his scheme and contented himself with the publication, in 1811, of the introduction and single chapter. Mr. Kilty dying while these were passing through the press, Mr. Bozman, after the appearance of his volume, resumed his interrupted labors, and continued them with the utmost zeal for some years with a purpose of continuing his history until the time when the Province of Maryland became an independent State and member of the great Confederation; but, unfortunately, rapidly declining health prevented the full accomplishment of this purpose, and he was compelled to limit his task by continuing his account to a date no later than 1660—the epoch of the restoration of the royal authority in England and the colonies—so that, to our incalculable loss, we have a history of Maryland from his pen for only twenty-six to thirty years. After the death of the historian in 1823, his manuscript was found in such a state of completeness that his executor and nephew, the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, was enabled to offer it, without revision or emendation, to the General Assembly of the State for publication at the public expense. This generous act was performed by him in 1834 in a graceful letter to the Speaker of the House of Delegates, and the proffer was coupled with no other conditions than that the work should be

printed within two years and in a style worthy of its merit, creditable to the State and with due regard to correctness. With a promptness indicative of an appreciation of the value of the book, the donation was accepted by the Legislature, and the Governor and Council were authorized and required to contract for the printing and publishing of five hundred copies. Accordingly, in 1837, it made its appearance in two volumes, with such corrections and additions as Mr. Bozman had made to the original Introduction since its first issue in 1811, and with such editorial supervision by Mr. Kerr as was necessary to secure accuracy of typographical execution.[1] Thus it was that Maryland, raising no useless cenotaph of perishable stone or bronze to one who had erected his own enduring monument, honored herself and him when she thus laureated the work of her first historian.

There is no purpose to enter here into any extended criticism of this most important contribution to the history of this Province. It was the first serious attempt of its kind, and as such is entitled to consideration; but its precedence is not one of time only but of rank also, for it must be conceded that no other equals it in those qualities which distinguish true history from mere chro-

[1] The book bore this title: "*The History of Maryland, from its first settlement in* 1633 *to the Restoration in* 1660, *with a copious Introduction and Notes and Illustrations*, by John Leeds Bozman. 2 vols. 8vo. Baltimore, James Lucas, and E. K. Deaver, 1837.

nological or topical narration; the clear perception and statement of the true catenation of events; the interpretation of their significance, both in their antecedents and consequents; the comprehension of the factors of social change or evolution; the insight into the motives and characters of men—in short, the broad but perspicuous treatment of whatsoever subject, principal or ancillary, that is presented for contemplation. Its value is recognized by every student on account of the extent and depth of its researches, the accuracy and fulness of its statements, and for the profundity or acuteness of its philosophical and political reflections. It is appealed to as an authority, which few venture to impeach, for all matters relating to the early exploration of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, and to the location and condition of the Indian tribes settled along their shores; for all the circumstances leading to and attending the plantation of Maryland by the Calverts; for the transactions of the palatinate government instituted by the Lord Proprietary and of that set up under the protection of the Commonwealth of England; for those occurrences which were either important in themselves or were illustrative of the religion, the politics, the industry, the manners and customs of the Province. In it the author has most industriously collected, judiciously estimated and clearly presented his

materials, and whatever may be or may have been accomplished by the labors of subsequent historians in the same fields, it will be confessed that Mr. Bozman has gathered the sheaf if he has not gleaned all the scattered straws of our early provincial annals. His style is lucid, full of dignity, without inflation or useless ornamentation.

But the History of Mr. Bozman is not entitled to unqualified praise, excellent as it is; for while it is a mine from which later writers have drawn their ore of valuable facts, it is one from which they have inhaled the vapors of erroneous opinion. Accurate as were his statements, his judgments are not always to be approved. He takes no pains to conceal his antipathies to the Puritans, both in England and America, and the conduct of those of them who made Virginia and Maryland their home, and who acted so conspicuous a part in those provinces during a portion of the period of which he writes, received his severe reprobation. The intolerance of religious dissent, the austerity of morals, the sternness of civil and domestic discipline, the harshness of manners, the acerbity of disposition that have been attributed to these people in Old and New England were either greatly exaggerated or they were greatly modified by the favoring circumstances of their new home in these southern provinces; for the severe traits of Puritan character never impressed them-

selves strongly or permanently upon those of their persuasion who were settled along the Chesapeake, and their political dominancy, which was brief and passed away with the Commonwealth and the restoration of monarchy, left scarcely a trace behind upon the social structure. Much more has been made of their alleged misrule in Maryland, and particularly of their intolerance of religious dissent, than can be justified by historic facts, and though Mr. Bozman is not the most severe of their censors, he, of our State historians, is most largely responsible, because of his high character, for the perpetuation of injurious ascriptions. He cannot escape the imputation of that illiberality which he severely condemns in others, and he has not the apology for this, if, indeed, it be an apology, of religious zealotry.

Again, his injustice to Claiborne, who held at one time a Puritan commission, may possibly be traced as much to his prejudices against those sectaries as to a conviction of the illegality of his pretensions and the factious nature of his proceedings. Of his presentation of the case of the "evil genius" of the colony, as he has been called, there has been of late years ample criticism to show that his estimate of this much-injured man's motives and actions is not defensible, and was more largely affected by prejudices than might have been expected of one whose ideal of the true historian is he who, with "steady temper,"

"Can look on guilt, rebellion, fraud and Cæsar,
In the calm lights of mild philosophy."

Nor is the History without its defects as a work of literary art. The most obvious of these and the only one that shall be mentioned is the introduction of much matter of slight relevancy to the narrative, which, however interesting and valuable, has given it a great prolixity. This is most conspicuous in his notes. One is tempted to believe that his book was written as much to furnish the author with an occasion to use his large stores of learning and an opportunity to express his opinions or expose his speculations upon a great variety of subjects as to furnish the student of Maryland history with a clear and connected recital of events occurring within the period of which he treats, their causes, their consequences and their relations. The great scope which he was giving to his work may have been one cause of its abandonment, for there must have come to him a sense of the disproportion between his subject and his method of its treatment. He must have seen that he was making a statue that was colossal—gigantesque—of a diminutive personage. But after criticism has exhausted itself in the detection of defects, both of design and execution, it will at last confess that the work of Mr. Bozman, as far as completed, is the most

successful attempt yet made to give an imperishable presentment of Maryland history.

As evidence of the estimate in which Mr. Bozman was held by literary and scientific men, it may be mentioned that in December, 1811, he was elected a member of the *New York Historical Society*, and in February, 1819, a Counsellor of the *American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts*—an honor repeated for several successive years. Nor was his reputation confined to his own country, some knowledge of him as a man of science and letters having reached the Scandinavian *savans*, for in 1840, long after his death, the diploma of membership in the *Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen* was forwarded to him as if still living. It is probable he was a fellow of other like bodies; but of this evidence is not at hand and hardly worth the seeking. Enough is known to show that he was regarded as "learned among learned men."

Passing now from a consideration of the literary life of Mr. Bozman to that which is more intimate or personal, it may be noted that, receiving his earliest religious impressions from his Quaker mother, he retained a respect for the Society of which she was a member that was born rather of filial affection than of approval of its doctrines and practices; but subsequent association and education essentially modified those impressions. He

really grew up under training that led him to a strict observance of the prescribed forms, if not to the acceptance of the stated doctrines of the Church of England as established in Maryland and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. His regular attendance upon religious services may have been given in compliance with genteel or useful custom rather than in satisfaction of a devout feeling or pious obligation; and the cordial relations he maintained with some of the clergy may have been a mere indulgence of the social instinct and not a spiritual communion. Some views of his, often privately expressed and then published in his *Essay on Colonization*, upon the distinct origin of the races of men, that were not in harmony with the orthodox teaching of the time, possibly gave rise to the opinion which prevailed of his being sceptical upon more than one point of Christian belief; but it is so common to attribute this to anyone who shows independence of thought upon such matters as theology claims to have determined once and for all, that the imputation against Mr. Bozman may be dismissed as unfounded.[1] He had been too voracious a reader to allow the works of the Deists of the last century to escape his perusal and the yet more damaging books of the apologists of the

[1] Nevertheless, there are passages in his History that are difficult of reconciliation with a belief in certain accepted Christian dogmas.

same period. If these affected his opinions upon certain fundamental questions of faith, he felt no obligation to be the propagandist of unbelief, and therefore he cast none of his doubts before others to be stumbling-blocks to those who painfully but hopefully climb

> "the world's great altar stairs
> That slope through darkness up to God."

Reference has already been made to Mr. Bozman's prejudices against Puritanism. These were extended to Methodism, the legitimate successor of that form of religion, which began to be taught and professed in his own county about the time when he became capable of independent thought. The extravagances that attended its early preaching were condemned by him as savoring of fanaticism, and its fundamental doctrine of "justification by faith" was pronounced by him to be as pernicious to good morals as the practice of the Church of Rome of granting indulgences.[1] His attitude towards the Roman Catholics was one of great liberality—apologetic in cases of evident error and commendatory where praise could pos-

[1] In a note contained in the first volume of his *History of Maryland* he said: "It must be acknowledged by those who suffer themselves to reason on such subjects, that the unbounded confidence which is taught by modern fanatics to be placed in the efficacy of *faith*, in preference to *good works*, in obtaining salvation, has much the same pernicious effect on the moral conduct of human society as the actual granting of indulgences by the supreme pontiff of Rome." Page 289.

sibly be bestowed, but he refused to accord to them the credit of establishing religious toleration in the infant province.

In politics Mr. Bozman was a Federalist of the school of Washington, Hamilton, and the elder Adams, and there is ground for believing there remained in his blood a taint of the Toryism of his grandfather, John Leeds. The administration of Washington needed no support from him; but that of Adams, under which parties began to be alligned, was ably defended by his pen, while the democracy of Jefferson was the object of his alternate vituperation and ridicule. He witnessed with no composure the spread of sentiments emanating from this great statesman and tribune which he deemed levelling and libertine; for he was so thoroughly indoctrinated with the belief that the people could be governed only by their superiors in wealth, morals and intelligence, that he was incapable of seeing how much of political wisdom there generally is in the popular instincts, and how little there often is in the reasoned conclusions of the patrician statesman or the cloistered scholar. He never outlived the terrors of French Jacobinism, to which he likened the radicalism of the American Democracy; but he lived long enough to see the high Federalism which he avowed discredited and become even a reproach. In the earlier part of his life, judging

from his frequent contributions to the newspapers of an intense partisan tone, and his attendance upon political meetings, the proceedings of which were characterized by a vehement support of Federal measures that had provoked violent opposition, he was deeply interested in politics. In September, 1794, he gave notice through the public press, in accordance with the custom of the time, that he proposed to stand as a candidate for a seat in the Lower House of Assembly; but if he did stand and receive the votes of the Federal electors he was beaten in the contest, for the Republicans, or Democrats as they were subsequently called, were triumphant. Whether disgusted with the methods employed to effect his defeat or discouraged by its accomplishment—whether from a repugnance to the defilement of political contests or from a consciousness that his manners and opinions were not such as to win for him the popular voice, he never again descended to the arena, though he long remained an inactive, but not indifferent, spectator of the party combats. He never held but one office, and that not an elective one, having been appointed by his friend, the Hon. Luther Martin, to be the Deputy Attorney-General for Talbot and Caroline Counties. It is hardly necessary to say that he was an earnest advocate of public education, and particularly of higher education. It is doubt-

ful whether his views of the true and proper functions of government were such as to lead him to assume the advanced ground now held by statesmen — that all the children of the community shall be educated at the common charge; for this has been attained only of later years, and approach to it has been made by the way of government appropriation to the schools of a superior grade. It is a modern idea that it is of more importance to the common weal that the whole body of the people should have, at least, the elements of learning, than that there should be a small well-educated class from which the guides and governors should be drawn. The Easton Academy, founded in 1796 in his own county, therefore, was a school for whose success he manifested a solicitous interest. It was largely through his agency that this institution escaped shipwreck at the very beginning of its voyage, through a partisan and sectarian attempt to place an incompetent teacher at its helm, to the exclusion of the Rev. John Bowie, whose Church of England connection and whose Tory or non-juring sentiments Mr. Bozman declared ought to be no impediment to his induction as Principal of the Academy, and whose excellent accomplishments as a teacher, and pure character, albeit he was called the "fighting parson," would secure its success and permanency.

Beyond what relates to his professional and literary labors, little is known of Mr. Bozman. His life was even less diversified with incidents worthy of mention than the lives of most men of letters. After his retirement from the bar it was one of almost complete seclusion and learned leisure. His home at Belleville, to which from the town of Easton he removed in 1795, and then named by himself, consisting of a long range of low cottage-built structures, erected as ability allowed or necessity required, without architectural pretensions, but comfortable and convenient, upon a large plantation of several hundred acres, was shut in on one side by water and on the other by an expanse of primitive forest. Here,

"Studious of ease and fond of humble things,"

he lived a simple, unostentatious life, attended only by his servants, going seldom abroad, and receiving no company but an occasional visiting kinsman. Tempted as he often was by the rewards that awaited him from an examination of the records and papers in public offices and private hands in England bearing upon his History, and by the pleasures of foreign travel—perhaps the most delightful of all that life affords to minds endowed as his—he never crossed the ocean after his return from pursuing his legal studies in London. Protracted sojourns at Anna-

polis while delving among the archives of Maryland, and short visits to Baltimore and Philadelphia, made the round of his journeyings from home. If he possessed social inclinations, they could hardly have been indulged in a narrow and retired neighborhood, where the number of refined and intelligent people was so small and communication was attended with so much embarrassment. But his personal traits were those of a student rather than those of a man of affairs or of society. He was exceedingly reserved and taciturn. He had an air of hauteur common with those whose communion is with the best minds of the ages, and who are impatient with the ignorance, the frivolity, and vulgarity of ordinary men. Besides, he was born in a community where, by reason of its remoteness and seclusion, many of the feelings and habits that characterized the two marked orders of old provincial days—the gentry and the commonalty—had survived the social cataclysm of the Revolution. He himself one of the Eupatridæ, the son of parents who for generations had been accustomed to receive, as by right, the deferential respect of those who were willing to be considered their inferiors, from them had inherited somewhat of the pride and exclusiveness of his class. It is, therefore, not surprising that he was regarded by people with whom he had no association, because he had little

in common with them, as an aristocrat—a character that, in the early part of this century, acquired an opprobrium derived from French political sources through the great leader of American democracy. And yet it is known that no one had a more hearty contempt for that bastard aristocracy of which he saw so much in his native county and among his own acquaintances and neighbors, which,

> "folded in
> The ragged purple of its ancestors,"

aped a dignity which it could not sustain and claimed a merit which it could not prove. Never having married, he was deprived of the pleasing companionship of wife and children — to none more necessary than to the man of books. In his library and his pen he found the best compensation for freedom of intercourse with men of congenial tastes and for the endearments of wedded life.[1] Perhaps, too, he felt that in leaving "something so written to after times as that they should not willingly let it die," he was securing, through this progeny of his brain, that perpetuity of existence which other men seek through children of their blood. But if it can be said

[1] Family tradition, rarely prosaic, must have a touch of the romantic or sentimental; so it relates that he had a serious *affaire de cœur* with a fair kinswoman — Miss Bacon — who, rejecting him, married a rich Welshman interested in mines.

that he indulged in any of the parental affections, these were bestowed upon nephews and nieces, and particularly upon Mr. John Leeds Kerr, his principal heir and literary executor. Injustice may easily be done to one of whose intimate life so little is certainly known; but it may be said with reserve that there are traditions of his being of a melancholy disposition, sensitive and irascible, but not morose, misanthropical or unappeasable. His treatment of his dependants was uniformly kind and indulgent. Indeed, such was his leniency towards his slaves that at one time he was suspected by such of his neighbors as were unable or unwilling to imitate his mildness and humanity, of favoring the views of the Emancipationists, who were a numerous and increasing body in his own county until slavery became a political question; and this suspicion was not effaced until he had published his essay on African colonization, before mentioned. In all its relations his life was so ordered that morality suffered no offence, though a scrupulous austerity of manners was not observed. His amusements, aside from those afforded by his literary work and the care of a large landed estate, were simple and such as a solitary man in his hours of weariness of mind might easily secure and enjoy. It is not likely that his fondness for flowers, before noticed, was that of the

botanist—limited to their structure and their classification, but extended to their ministry to the sensibilities. His propensity to poetry,—to indulge in

> "thoughts that voluntary move
> Harmonious numbers"—

was closely allied to his love of music, which he gratified by exercises upon the violin, for which many scores, copied with much pains with his own hand, were found among his papers. Physically, Mr. Bozman was in stature a little below the medium height, without being diminutive in appearance, and he was spare in flesh, without being meagre. His complexion was dark and healthy, though not ruddy. His eyes, the most expressive and characteristic feature of his face, were very prominent, or, as one may say, staring. His other features were sharply-cut and suggested refinement. His whole look and carriage was that of great independence, which some called pride, perhaps not unjustly. No portrait of him or other visible representation exists, and the recollections of persons still living, who had often seen him in their youth, are so dim as to forbid their giving a description of his person that they would regard as trustworthy.[1]

[1] What has here been said of Mr. Bozman's habits and appearance, though not to be wholly depended upon, was derived from aged persons, some of whom, now dead, knew him personally, and others, yet living, who saw him frequently in the streets of Easton.

For some years previous to his death Mr. Bozman's health was poor, which interrupted, to our great loss, his literary labors. He died on Sunday, the 20th of April, 1823, and was buried with his ancestors at Belleville—an estate which, notwithstanding his testamentary injunction to his principal heir to hold it intact as the best security for the perpetuation of his family, is no longer possessed by any of his blood. There his remains still lie in an undistinguished grave, unmarked by any monumental stone, and yet he is more sure of lasting memory in the minds of the citizens of that commonwealth whose earliest dawn he has so admirably portrayed than if over his dust there rose a stately obelisk with epitaph inscribed that should couple his name with praise.[1]

[1] The following is a part of an obituary notice of Mr. Bozman published in the *Easton Gazette* of April 26th, 1823: "A man highly respected in the society in which he lived, distinguished for his learning among learned men, a gentleman of urbane manners and refined sentiments. He was profoundly versed in the science of the law, and his mind was richly adorned and copiously stored with classical and miscellaneous literature. He will be handed down to future times as the first who successfully undertook to write a history of Maryland, and the world will long regret that he did not live to complete his excellent and important work."

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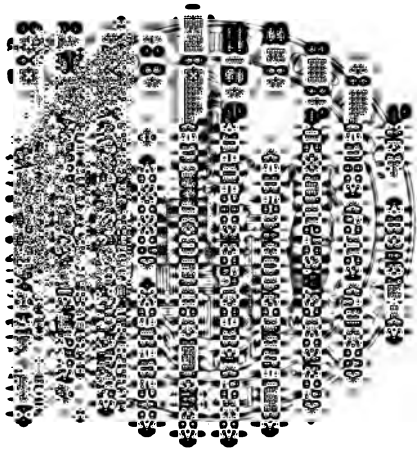

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN

AND THE

CHICAGO MEMORIAL

ON

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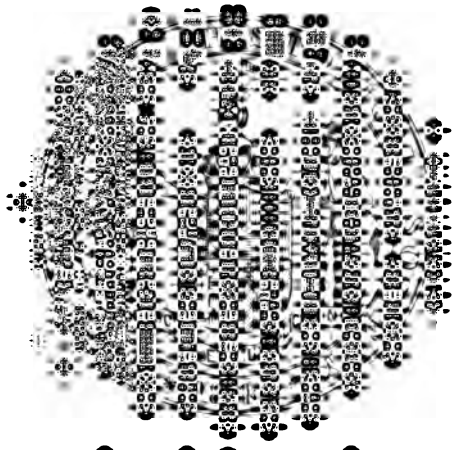

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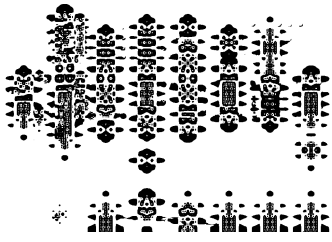

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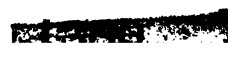
UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

PRESIDENT LINCOLN

AND THE

Chicago Memorial on Emancipation.

THE great civil war which, for four years, threatened the destruction of the American Union, was preceded by a movement more radical and important than the political struggle between the Northern and Southern States, over the question, whether Freedom should be national and Slavery sectional, or Slavery national and Freedom sectional. The debates upon the compromises of the Constitution and upon the comparative profit of free and slave labor were secondary to the discussion of the moral issue, as to the rightfulness of slave-holding. That discussion commenced shortly after the war of the Revolution. It was entered into largely by the Congregational ministers of New England, and the Presbyterian ministers in the other States, and culminated in the emphatic anti-



UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

slavery action, unanimously taken, in 1818, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, pronouncing slavery "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoin that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." But this contemplated *gradual* emancipation. A new agitation began, about ten years later, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison, based on the doctrine of immediate emancipation, as the duty of the master and the right of the slave. Soon passing beyond the control of this leader, to his manifest regret and unceasing complaint as to ideas and methods, it largely affected the sentiment of all the Protestant denominations at the North, with the comparative exception of the Episcopal Church; in some cases resulting in ecclesiastical divisions, and diffusing a widespread interest in the problem of American Slavery. The Southern States and the mere politicians of the North never understood the breadth and depth of this religious conviction, which brought up the subject persistently in ecclesiastical bodies, made it the theme of pulpit discourses, discussed it in the religious newspapers, and gave it a

continual place in public and private prayer. But this conviction explains why it was that, in the course of years, the great mass of the Protestant church-members at the North were gathered into the ranks of the Republican party.

We are prepared, by this glance at the moral and Christian aspect of the conflict, to understand what must have been the feelings and expectations of a large part of the religious community at the North, when, in the interest of slavery, the South madly seceded from the Federal Union, and essayed to destroy the work of the Revolutionary Fathers. They could not but believe that the hour of destiny had struck; that the thunder of the rebel guns against Sumter was the death-knell of slavery; that the answer to their fervent prayers had at last come; not, indeed, as they had hoped, through the peaceful agency of religion and politics, but, as they had feared, through the retributive agency of bloody war. They saw that, by invoking war in defence of their cherished institution, the slave-holders had also bared its breast to the sword; that national emancipation, impossible under the Constitution, in time of peace, as an act of legislation, might become feasible, under the war power, as an act of military necessity. It was with intense interest, therefore, that they watched the progress of the conflict, during the first year of its history,

to see what relation it would bear to slavery; and it was with disappointment and sorrow that they saw, on the part of the civil and of the military authorities, a manifest disposition to evade responsibility, and to ignore the whole question of emancipation. There was, for some time, an unwillingness even to receive and protect the fugitives from slavery, fleeing from rebel masters, who came within our lines; and it required the legal ingenuity of General Benjamin F. Butler, to improvise an addition to the laws of war, and to apply the word "contraband" to their case, before a common sense policy could be agreed upon. And when tens of thousands of such "contrabands" had accumulated on our hands, the authorities still refused to arm, drill and use them as soldiers! As to a proclamation of general emancipation, political conservatism hardly knew words strong enough for its condemnation. General Fremont had indeed, on August 31st, 1861, declared free the slaves of rebel slave-holders in the State of Missouri; but this was at once overruled by President Lincoln, as exceeding the power of a departmental commander; as later he overruled the similar proclamation of General J. W. Phelps, in Louisiana, dated December 4, 1861, and that of General David Hunter, at Hilton Head, S. C., dated May 9, 1862.

The summer of 1862 had passed, with no indication, after seventeen months of war, that the power of the rebellion was likely to be broken. Occasional successes led to small permanent gain, and were always succeeded by failures and reverses, while the probability of a European recognition of the Confederate Government became daily greater.

In these circumstances, the writer of this article, then a resident of the city of Chicago, Ill., determined to bring to bear on the President of the United States a heavy pressure from the Christian sentiment of his own state of Illinois. He had just returned from a visit of several weeks at the East, where he had found among the religious supporters of the war the deepest anxiety on this subject; and as no one else seemed to move, to give public expression to this feeling, he essayed the task. He drew up a call for a public meeting of Christian people in Chicago, to adopt a memorial to President Lincoln in favor of a proclamation of emancipation; and Rev. Joseph Roy, D. D., agreed to circulate it for signature among a limited number of prominent Christian citizens, clergymen and laymen. It received the signatures of leading laymen of the various denominations, and of all the Congregational, and nearly all the Baptist and Methodist clergymen of the city, but, because

of prudential considerations, of no Presbyterian clergyman. The Presbyterian clergymen considered the matter in their weekly ministers' meeting, and voted not to sign the call; such was the strength of conservatism in that circle. But many of their influential laymen readily affixed their names. While the call was circulating, the writer of this narrative, at the request of those who were principally interested, prepared a form of memorial for adoption. This was considered in a preliminary meeting, and by a subsequent committee, which slightly abridged it, and added for presentation to the final meeting, a series of resolutions, drawn up by Rev. William Everts, D. D., of the Baptist denomination. Everything being in readiness, an immense assembly gathered in Bryan Hall, the largest auditorium in the city, on the evening of Sunday, September 7th, 1862, multitudes being unable to gain admission. The Memorial was read, and was adopted by an enthusiastic, unanimous, rising vote. Addresses were made by Rev. Drs. Eddy (Methodist) and Everts (Baptist), and by Judges Wilson, and Otis, and other laymen, and the appended resolutions were also unanimously passed. A committee of three was appointed to present the Memorial to the President, consisting of the writer, as Chairman, the Rev. John Dempster, D. D., and Hon. Charles Walker. The latter was, however, unable to act. The two other

members of the delegation reached Washington, D. C., on Thursday morning, September 11th, 1862, but were unable to arrange for an interview with President Lincoln until Saturday forenoon, the 13th instant, when they were introduced by Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, who was in full accord with their object. The President received them in a calm, but affable manner, and motioned them to seats near the end of his writing desk, behind which was the armchair which he occupied during the interview.

The chairman of the delegation read aloud the Memorial, to which Mr. Lincoln gave fixed attention, and presented also a memorial of similar import, drawn up in German and in English, which had been entrusted to them by some of the German citizens of Chicago. The Memorial was as follows:

MEMORIAL
OF THE
PUBLIC MEETING
OF THE
CHRISTIAN MEN OF CHICAGO.

To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States:

Your memorialists of all Christian denominations in the city of Chicago, assembled in solemn meeting to consider the moral aspects of the war now waging, would utter their deepest convic-

tions as to the present relation of our country and its rulers to the government and providence of Almighty God; and would respectfully ask a hearing for the principles and facts deemed fundamental to a right judgment of this appalling crisis. And to this we are encouraged by the frequency with which, on various public occasions, you have officially recognized the dependence of the country and its chief magistrate upon the Divine favor.

We claim, then, that the war is a Divine retribution upon our land for its manifold sins, and especially for the crime of oppression, against which the denunciations of God's Word are so numerous and pointed.

The American nation, in this its judgment-hour, must acknowledge that the cry of the slave, unheeded by man, has been heard by God and answered in this terrible visitation. The time has at length come of which Jefferson solemnly warned his countrymen, as he declared that the slaves of America were enduring "a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which occasioned the war of the Revolution," and added, "When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their tears shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to blind fatality."

The slave oligarchy has organized the most unnatural, perfidious, and formidable rebellion known to history. It has professedly established an independent government on the avowed basis of slavery, admitting that the Federal Union was constituted to conserve and promote liberty. All but four of the slave states have seceded from the Union, and those four (with the exception of Delaware, in which slavery but nominally exists) have been kept in subjection only by overwhelming military force. Can we doubt that this is a Divine retribution for national sin, in which our crime has justly shaped our punishment?

Proceeding upon this belief, which recent events have made it almost atheism to deny, your memorialists avow their solemn conviction, deepening every hour, that there can be no deliverance from Divine judgments *till slavery ceases in the land.* We cannot expect God to save a nation that clings to its sin. This is too fearful an hour to insult God, or to deceive ourselves. National existence is in peril: our sons and brothers are falling by tens of thousands on the battle-field: the war becomes daily more determined and destructive. While we speak, the enemy thunders at the gates of the capital. Our acknowledged superiority of resources has thus far availed little or nothing in the conflict. As Christian patriots we dare not conceal the truth, that these judgments mean what the divine judgments meant in Egypt. They are God's stern command—"LET MY PEOPLE GO!"

This work of national repentance has been inaugurated by the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and its prohibition in the territories, as also by encouragement to emancipation in the border slave states, offered by Congress at the suggestion of the President.

But these measures do not meet the crisis as regards either the danger of the country or the national guilt. We urge you, therefore, as the head of this Christian nation, from considerations of moral principle, and, as the only means of preserving the Union, to proclaim, *without delay,* NATIONAL EMANCIPATION.

However void of authority in this respect you might have been in time of peace, you are well aware, as a statesman, that the exigencies of war are the only limits of its powers, especially in a war to preserve the very life of the nation. And these exigencies are not to be restricted to what may avail at the last gasp prior to national death, but are to be interpreted to include all measures that may most readily and thoroughly subdue the enemy. The rebels have brought slavery under your control by their desperate attack upon the life of the republic. They have created a moral, political, and military necessity, which warrants the deed, and now

God and a waiting world demand that the opportunity be used. And surely the fact that they have placed in our power a system which, while it exposes them, is itself the grossest wickedness, adds infinitely to the obligation to strike the blow.

In this view of a change of power involving an equal change in duty, we will not conceal the fact that gloom has filled our hearts at every indication that the war was regarded as simply an issue between the federal authorities and the rebel states; and that therefore slavery was to be touched only to the extent that the pressure of rebel success might absolutely necessitate. Have we not reason to *expect* rebel success on that policy? Are we to omit from our calculations the necessary conditions of Divine favor? Has the fact no moral force, that the war has suddenly placed within the power of the President, the system that has provoked God's wrath? Is there not danger that while we are waiting till the last terrible exigency shall force us to liberate the slave, God may decide the contest against us, and the measure that we should adopt on principle, prove too late for our salvation? We claim that justice, here as everywhere, is the highest expediency.

At the time of the national peril of the Jews, under Ahasuerus, Mordecai spoke in their name to Queen Esther, who hesitated to take the step necessary to their preservation, in these solemn words: "Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Jews. For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed; and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" And your memorialists believe that in Divine Providence you have been called to the Presidency to speak the word of justice and authority which shall free the bondman and save the nation. Our prayer to God is, that by such an act the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN may go down to posterity with that of GEORGE WASHINGTON, as the second SAVIOR OF OUR COUNTRY.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That universal emancipation seems pointed out by Providence as the most effectual, if not the only means of saving our country.

That in the appalling loss of blood and treasure, and repeated reverses to our arms, pressing the nation to the verge of destruction should be heard the voice that sounded above the wail of desolated Egypt—"Let my people go."

That universal emancipation as a mere act of *political* justice would be without a parallel in the annals of the world.

That it would be the abandonment of a wrong long perpetuated against the oppressed race, to the contravention of impartial liberty, the reproach of free institutions, and the dishonor of our country.

That it would be a consummation of the expectations of the founders of the republic, who, deploring while tolerating slavery anticipated its early disappearance from the continent.

That it would accord with the world's convictions of justice, and the higher teachings of Christianity.

That we should not expect national deliverance till we rise at least to the moral judgment of Jefferson who, in view of slavery, exclaimed: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events, that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

That all assumed right to slavery under the Constitution is forfeited by open and persistent rebellion; and therefore, emancipation, to preserve the republic, would only vindicate the honor of the Constitution.

That as slavery is a principal reliance of the rebellion, conserving its property, tilling its plantations, feeding and clothing its armies, freeing the slaves would take away its support, recall its armies from the field, demoralize its conspiracy, and organize in its midst a power for its overthrow.

That putting down this rebellion is as obvious a Christian duty as prayer, preaching, charity to the poor, or missions to the heathen.

That the postponement of emancipation jeopards countless treasure, the best blocd and the *existence* of the nation.

That no evils apprehended from emancipation are comparable to those that would arise from the overthrow of the republic, and they would fall upon those madly provoking the catastrophe.

That as the perpetuation and extension of slavery was a primary aim of this rebellion, its overthrow would seem a fitting and signal retribution upon its authors—like hanging Haman upon the gallows he erected for Mordecai.

That it were better for this generation to perish than that the American Union should be dissolved: and it is a delusion that those disloyal and belligerent under the Constitution and traditions of their fathers, would become peaceable citizens, observant of treaties and oaths in rival states.

(Signed) L. B. Otis, *Chairman.*

E. W. Blatchford, *Secretary.*

After reading the Memorial, the Chairman added a few words, to express the deep interest which had been felt in the President by Christian people from the day of his election to that hour, as manifested in their continual prayer in his behalf; and to explain the pressure of conviction and feeling which had led to the prepa-

ration and presentation of this document. He disclaimed all purpose in the delegation, or in those whom they represented, to dictate to the chief magistrate, who had his own responsibility to God, to the nation, and to the world: they wished to aid and encourage him, rather, in the performance of his difficult duties. He alluded to the rebel invasion of Maryland and the approaching battle (fought a few days after, at Antietam) and said, that the time of presenting the Memorial might seem inauspicious, in view of recent disasters, which had brought the national authority within narrower limits in the slave States. But it was difficult, for those who believed in a just Providence, to avoid the fear, that our reverses might be made needful by neglect to learn the moral lessons of the war, and to manifest a due repentance for the national sin of oppression. The President must see that, if military success was thought to render emancipation unnecessary, and defeat to make it unavailing, duty would become an idle word, and God's providence unmeaning.

After a moment's silence, the President made grave and careful answer, which is given accurately, and often in his exact words, as they fell upon ears eagerly attent, and were soon after reduced to writing. He spoke quite deliberately, with well chosen language, in an earnest and

solemn manner, as one impressed with the weight of the theme, yet often uttering a characteristically shrewd remark, and letting fall a half-humorous observation. The conversation ran thus:

MR. LINCOLN.—"The subject presented in the Memorial is not a new one. It has been upon my mind for many weeks, I may even say, for many months. But those who offer me suggestions do not agree among themselves; not even the religious men. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, by those who seem equally certain that they represent the divine will. One or the other class must be mistaken in that belief, and perhaps, in some respects, they both are mistaken."

THE DELEGATION.—"We admit, with sadness, the difference of view at the North, on this subject, as on many others connected with the war. It is owing to a difference of education and past associations, of conservative or radical temperament and ideas, and of the study of different parts of the complicated problem before us. And yet there is a right view of the subject. The truth is somewhere, and it is duty to ascertain it. The Memorial does not merely offset the bare opinion of those who adopted it against the opinion of others. It presents tangible facts in the history of the nation and of the war, and

intelligent arguments in favor of the course which it proposes. It starts with the idea, plainly taught by the world's history as well as by the Bible, that God governs the nations of the earth, and that he hates and punishes oppression. In this respect our country has been exceedingly guilty, the North and the South being both involved, and the retribution has consequently come in a civil war, and in a slave-holders' rebellion. Secession and slave-holding are twins. Where the virus of slavery is, there and there only is the virus of rebellion. If this be so, and if the war has brought slavery within our power, then we can hardly believe that God will send us deliverance except in connection with emancipation. We appeal to our President's faith in Providence."

MR. LINCOLN.—"I believe in a divine Providence. Unless I am deceived in myself more than I often am, I wish to know God's will in this matter; and if I can learn it, I will do it. But I hope it will not be irreverent in me to say, that if it is probable that God would reveal to others his will concerning my duty, it is quite as probable that he would reveal it directly to me. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted, that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain facts of the case, ascertain what

is possible, and decide what appears to be wise and right."

THE DELEGATION.—"We agree in the view which you present, in the main; but would make one or two qualifying suggestions. It is true, that the problem involves very directly the duty of the President, yet only as he officially represents the interests of the people and the defence of the national Union. Hence all are compelled to study the question, and to reach a conclusion as to what needs to be done, and we cannot well avoid expressing our solemn judgment. Moreover, since God, as you have well said, is not likely to make any miraculous revelation to you of your duty, He may be supposed to use human agency, and to bring before you the suggestions and arguments of other minds. Perhaps even such humble instrumentalities as ourselves, representing as we do the Christian sentiment of our section, and largely of other sections also, may be providentially put to use, to make the way of duty more plain than it might otherwise be."

MR. LINCOLN.—"Yes, that may be; but the fact still remains, that the subject is difficult, and good men do not agree upon it. Why, it was only the other day, that four gentlemen of standing and intelligence, from New York, called as a delegation on business connected with the

war. After this had been attended to, two of them earnestly beset me to proclaim a general emancipation; upon which the other two at once attacked them, and argued in opposition to the idea. You know, also, that at the last session of Congress, there was a decided majority of anti-slavery men, and yet they could not unite on this policy. Nor are the religious people of one mind about it. It is very curious about the religious ideas of the war. They are not confined to our side. Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than are our own troops, and are expecting God to favor their side. One of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson, a few days since, that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among, in their prayers."

THE DELEGATION.—"Quite likely. History has always been witnessing the differing judgments, and hence the differing prayers, of good men. It was so in the war of our Revolution, and in the religious wars of Europe. Nevertheless there was a right side, in each case. And we must pray, and must act, according to our own convictions of righteousness."

MR. LINCOLN.—"Of course. Let us then talk over the merits of the case. What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do;

especially as we are now situated, with the enemy at our very doors? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet! How would my mere word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution, in the rebel states? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual there, that would be influenced by it? And what reason is there, to think that it would have any greater effect even upon the slaves, than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? And yet I cannot learn that, of the thousands of fugitives who have come to us, a single one was influenced by that law."

THE DELEGATION.—"We are glad to discuss the difficulties of the case; for discussion here and elsewhere will bring a more united judgment, and it is quite likely that, though Congress could not agree, at the last session, they may have, in view of the subsequent events, more unanimity when they next assemble. The members have met their constituents and learned of many marvelous conversions to the policy of emancipation; especially since the late reverses have awakened thought as to the extreme peril of the nation, and have made bad men as well

as good men realize, that in this matter we have to deal with God. Men of the most opposite views, previously, are now uniting in calling for this measure. It is true, Mr. President, that you cannot, at this moment, enforce either the Constitution, or a decree of emancipation, in the South; but we see no reason in that for not proclaiming emancipation. They do not appeal to the same classes, at home or abroad, and the latter is needful to the enforcement of the former, by making the slaves, the North, and the onlooking world see, that a war for the Union means liberty and not merely power. The two can be made operative together, as fast as the national armies advance, fighting their way Southward; and we have yet to hear that you propose to abandon the Constitution, because of the present difficulty of enforcing it. The slaves will gradually hear of such a proclamation, from those near the borders and from the conversation of the whites, and it will fill them with hope, increase the earnestness of their prayers in our behalf, and give them encouragement to escape to us when they can."

MR. LINCOLN.—"But should they come in any great numbers, what could we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler, who is in New Orleans, wrote to me, a few days since, that he was issuing more

rations to the slaves who have rushed to him, than to all the troops under his command. They eat, and that is all! True, General Butler is feeding the whites, also, by the thousand; for it nearly amounts to a famine there. If now the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans, to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again? For I am told, that whenever the rebels take any black prisoners, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat, that was aground in the Tennessee River, a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for such occurrences! For instance, after the late battles, at and near Bull Run, when an expedition went out from Washington, under a flag of truce, to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper, that the Government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

THE DELEGATION.—"Allow us to suggest, that whatever the Government could do, in the case of whites, when a flag of truce is violated, could and should be done, in the case of blacks; for a flag of truce covers equally all over whom it waves. As for the difficulty experienced by General Butler, it arises from the evil which always accompanies

timid, half-way measures. These give you the full trouble of thoroughgoing measures, without the corresponding benefit. It is folly merely to receive and feed the slaves. Paul's sound doctrine was, that those who eat must work. The slaves must be received and welcomed, must be freed and fed; but they must be required to work, and they must also be enlisted and drilled, to fight for their own liberty and for the Union which is to protect it. The neglect and timidity on this latter point has been disastrous. Take the opposite policy, and the blacks will be no encumbrance, and their rations no waste. We should follow the ancient maxim, and learn from the enemy. What the rebels most fear, we should be most prompt to do; and what they most fear is evident from the hot haste with which, on the very first day of the present session of the Rebel Congress, bills were introduced threatening terrible vengeance, if we used the blacks in the war."

MR. LINCOLN.—"Well, proceed and tell me further, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire. Understand; I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy. Nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in

view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view the matter as a practical war measure, to be decided upon according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion."

THE DELEGATION.—"As regards the slaves, we should not expect any immediate or general effect. The news will gradually spread, and as our armies advance, it will cause an influx of blacks to us, which will deprive the rebels of numerous laborers, whom they are continually putting to valuable use, and will give us both laborers and soldiers; for we cannot believe that the present policy of not enlisting black troops will long be continued. As regards the North, we think it would deepen the convictions and increase the zeal of the loyal citizens, who now are tempted, at times, to despair of success, when they see such an apparent unwillingness to strike at the root of the evil. It would give them a double principle for which to fight and to suffer loss, in all needful ways; to wit, national union and universal liberty. It would, above all, assure them, that the work of putting down the rebellion was to be so thoroughly done, as to leave our country forever free from disgrace and danger in this quarter. Slavery and secession are one and the same thing, practically. Not the least of the benefits to be secured, however, would come from its effect abroad. We all trem-

ble, lest England and France shall find a sufficient excuse for recognizing the Southern Confederacy. The upper classes in those countries are known to favor such a course. We must omit nothing which can deprive them of argument and opportunity. At present, the sympathizers with secession in Great Britain (which country heretofore has professed great anti-slavery zeal), allege that this bloody war is on our part for national ambition, pride of territory, coveted power of the Great Republic, and not at all for liberty. It has no claim, therefore, upon the sympathy of philanthropists in Europe. We are thus weak, where we ought to be and need to be strong. Proclaim emancipation, and a tide of sympathy for us will set in, which no European power would dare to resist."

MR. LINCOLN.—"There is force in some of your points. I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or was, at least, its *sine quâ non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act; but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede, that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant further, that it would help somewhat at the North; though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some addi-

tional strength would be added, in that way, to the war. And then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels, by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance. But I am not so sure, that we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, as soldiers, I fear that, in a few weeks, the arms would be in the hands of the rebels! And, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it may meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the Border slave States. It would be a serious matter, if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think that they all would; not so many, indeed, as a year ago; not so many as six months ago; not so many to-day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and they want to beat the rebels. Let me say one thing more: you must admit, that we already have an important principle, with which to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. Here is a rebellion against the orderly result of a regular election according to law, in which they themselves took part. Failing to elect their candidate, they rebel! This is the destruction of constitutional government. We

are fighting for a liberty of law against faction and anarchy. This is a fundamental idea, and goes down about as deep as anything!"

THE DELEGATION.—"As to the blacks, we have only to say, that good sense must be used in arming and drilling them as well as white troops; that discipline, in this as in other cases, could work wonders with the raw material, in the course of time, so that it would be well to begin in season; and that, if there be a scarcity of arms, it might be wise to place a part of the supply in the hands of those nearest to the seat of the rebellion, having most at stake, and able to strike the heaviest blow. We have little fear of the desertion of the Border State troops. The danger is much diminished, as you have just admitted, and anything lost in that quarter would be regained twofold at the North. But, at all events, the struggle has now gone too far to be settled by partial measures. This country must be all slave or all free territory. Let the line be drawn, at the same time, between loyalty and treason, and between freedom and slavery. The sooner we know who are our enemies, the better. But the people of the Border States, as a whole, are neither traitors nor fools. Wholesale desertion, on their part, would make their States the seat of war, a vast battlefield, a scene of blood and desolation. Perhaps our hopefulness arises

from our being fresh from the people, warm with their aspirations, and having personal knowledge of the self-denials and prayers of the Christian patriots. We do not undervalue the principle of constitutional government, which is at stake. It is indeed a grand idea for which to contend, even at this expense of treasure and blood. But, Mr. President, the people know, and you have admitted, that nothing else has put constitutional government in danger, in this land, but slavery; that the toleration of that aristocratic and despotic element among our free institutions has been the inconsistency that has nearly wrought our ruin, and caused free government to appear a failure before the world. Therefore, to preserve and perpetuate constitutional government, the people demand emancipation. Let us fight the battle once for all! Our idea will thus be found to go deeper than yours, and to be armed with corresponding power."

MR. LINCOLN (suddenly).—"Yes; that is the true ground of our difficulties."

THE DELEGATION.—"Oh, Mr. President, we are very earnest in this matter. A proclamation of emancipation, giving 'Union and Liberty' as the national watchword, would be a new inspiration for the war, appealing to conscience, sentiment and hope. You must not judge from the depression seen under recent disasters. If the

Leader will but utter a trumpet call, the nation will respond with patriotic ardor. No one can tell the power of the right word from the right man, to develop the latent fire and enthusiasm of the masses."

MR. LINCOLN (with earnestness).—"I know it!"

During the interview, thus far, the President sat in a roomy armchair, and at first in a straight and dignified posture, as one officially receiving a delegation. But as the conversation proceeded, he forgot all about himself, became deeply interested in the discussion, and evidently warmed up towards us personally, as if we were true friends. Gradually he unbent in his manners, and, feeling perfectly at ease, began to be humorous or pathetic, as the mood took him. He turned his face more and more towards us, until, as he grew quite earnest and yet informal, he carelessly threw one leg over the left arm of the huge chair, and soon after the other, gesticulating freely, and looking us intently in the face. It was amusing to see, and would have shocked European ideas of official propriety; but to us it only indicated the simplicity, frankness and sturdy honesty of his nature, and the unreserve with which he dealt with those who had his confidence. The close of the interview was as follows:

THE DELEGATION.—"We must not trespass

longer on your patience or your valuable time. Many others are waiting to see you, and we thank you for according us this personal interview. Pardon us, if, in the warmth of discussion, anything has dropped from our lips that seemed wanting in due respect for our honored chief magistrate. We have only aimed to be true to our convictions and faithful to our mission, and we take our leave, commending you to the gracious guidance of the All-Wise God."

MR. LINCOLN (rising and cordially extending his hand, in a parting salute).—"I have been much gratified with this interview. You have done your duty; I will try to do mine. In addition to what I have already said, there is a question of expediency as to time, should such a proclamation be issued. Matters look dark just now. I fear that a proclamation, on the heels of defeat, would be interpreted as a cry of despair. It would come better, if at all, immediately after a victory. I wish I could say something to you more entirely satisfactory; yet do not misunderstand me, because I have mentioned these various objections. They indicate the difficulties, which, thus far have prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you, that the subject is on my mind, by day and

night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. In parting I would only add, that I trust that, in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views, I have not in any respect injured your feelings."

As we left the Executive Mansion, Dr. Dempster and the writer naturally compared impressions made by the interview, and we found ourselves in entire agreement. Our minds were full of hope. The subject had evidently been under thoughtful consideration by the President, and the seemingly strong objections, which he urged to our request, struck us, after all, as in a measure old and outworn; as if they had lost to his mind most of the force which they might once have had. We thought it probable that, if the approaching battle at Antietam should prove favorable to the Union cause, it would be followed by a proclamation of emancipation.

This account of what actually was said, at the interview, will show the unhistoric character of the statement made by Hon. George S. Boutwell, in his Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, that, "at his interview with the Chicago clergy, he stated his reasons against emancipation, and stated them so forcibly, that the clergy were not prepared to answer them." As to this the reader will judge.

We reached Chicago, on Tuesday, September 16th, and on Friday, the 19th, made our written report to another immense gathering of the citizens, in Bryan Hall. Meanwhile the battle of Antietam had been fought, on the 17th. The report gave so fully and forcibly the objections mentioned by the President, that the Democratic newspapers of the next morning declared them to be a complete answer to the Memorial, thought the case settled adversely, appreciated highly the joke about the Pope's bull against the comet, and ridiculed the hopes expressed by the Delegation. But when the report appeared in print, in the daily papers of Tuesday, the 23d, by its side appeared President Lincoln's preliminary proclamation of emancipation, dated September 22d, 1862, announcing his purpose, on January 1st, 1863, to declare free the slaves in all the States or parts of States, which should then be in rebellion.

It is now known, that previous to this interview, President Lincoln had not only, as he intimated to us, solemnly considered the subject, but had even made a tentative draft of a proclamation, and discussed it in his Cabinet, leaving the fact and time of its publication quite undetermined. But that our humble mission was not destitute of some final influence, in resolving doubts and putting an end to delay, is more than probable.

Mr. F. B. Carpenter, in his "Six Months at the White House," testifies, that Mr. Lincoln told him that his second draft of the Preliminary Proclamation was written at the Soldiers' Home, after the news had arrived of the favorable result of the battle of Antietam (September 17th), which prevented General Lee's contemplated invasion of Pennsylvania. On the 20th he laid it before the Cabinet, telling the members (as Secretary S. P. Chase informed Mr. Carpenter), with much solemnity of manner, that just before the battle of Antietam, he solemnly promised his God, that if the battle went favorably to the Union cause, he would proclaim freedom to the slaves. As our interview with him was four days before the battle, the appeal which the delegation made to his conscience and to his faith in Providence, may well have aided in bringing him to make such a vow.

A leading editor of Chicago (Mr. Medill), returning, a few months after, from a visit to Washington, said: "Secretary Stanton told me to say to those Chicago clergymen, who waited on the President about the Proclamation of Emancipation, that their interview finished the business. After that, there was no manifestation of doubt, or talk of delay. Mr. Lincoln's mind was firmly made up." Two years later, in July, 1864, the writer had a brief interview with Mr. Lincoln,

at Washington, in which he expressed entire satisfaction with the step thus taken, although the immediate advantages had not been as great as some had expected. We can all now see how vast and beneficent were the ultimate results, and every one may well rejoice, who was permitted in any degree to aid in securing them.

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